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THE RELATION OF  
SYDNAM POYNTZ  
1624-1636





# THE RELATION OF SYDNAM POYNTZ

1624-1636

EDITED FOR THE  
ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY

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St. John's College Oxford*

ERRATUM

Title-page. For 'scholar' or 'St. John's College'  
read 'Fellow.'

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## ERRATUM

- P. 74. *Delete* last paragraph of Footnote.  
Lilly's letter was addressed not to  
Gustavus Adolphus, but to his  
father.

## ADDENDUM

- P. III. Colonel 'Musten' is almost certainly  
'Mostyn' who fought with distinct-  
ion under Gustavus in Poland.

THE RELATION OF  
SYDNAM POYNTZ  
1624-1636



## INTRODUCTION.

The fragment of autobiography here published is of two-fold interest. On the one hand it throws a new and not altogether favourable light on the character of one of the Parliamentary leaders in our own civil conflict, and it also embodies one of the very few narratives of the earlier and more stirring period of the Thirty Years' War written by men who actually took part in the events they describe. The student of the history of the War is amazed to find how little of such first-hand authority is available for his use. The Memoirs, the Diaries, the private correspondence which render the history of the English Civil War so lucid are almost entirely lacking. Anyone who will for example critically examine the seventy pages of Bibliography at the end of the volume entitled *The Thirty Years' War* in the *Cambridge Modern History* will find that contemporary narrations of actors in the great conflict reduce themselves to two or three. There are plenty of titles it is true like *Ausführliche Relation* of this or that battle and *Extract eines Schreibens* from such and such a (possibly fictitious) combatant, but these are plainly the work of mere pamphleteers—mere catchpenny publications at the best. And when we seek for personal memoirs we find few indeed. There is one genuine German soldier's diary, first published by Westenrieder a century ago and somewhat unaccountably neglected : and there is the so

▲



called *Soldat Suédois*, which, as the work of a mere *littérateur*, and a deeply prejudiced one, may almost be accounted a forgery, but which for two hundred years was quoted, and where not quoted used, as a professional memoir. These almost make up the sum of German records of the personal type indicated. It is possible that the Piccolomini family papers at Siena may prove interesting from this point of view, but little seems to be known of them at present. For contemporary history we are left to the mercy of makers of books, often misinformed and seldom if ever impartial. It is either the Vienna Jesuit, adulatory of all things Imperial, and chronicling every lying bulletin which reaches the capital as authentic history, or the subservient historiographer of a Protestant court, on whom we have to rely. Of the former class of history the *Annales Boicae Gentis*, the work of two Jesuits and a librarian, is a good specimen : it gives for example the number of Tilly's killed and wounded at the famous fight at the passage of the Lech as thirty only. Of the latter Chemnitz's four parts, published at long intervals indeed —1648 to 1859— give us a favourable example. Pufendorf adapted all of this which he could lay hold of, and published it in his own *Commentarii de Rebus Suecicis* in 1686.

In the last half century, however, the archives of European courts have been ransacked for contemporary material, and they have yielded such in enormous quantities but of very doubtful value. As a rule they supply merely records of wearisome intrigue, without interest for the student of the social or military features of the great war, but which are supposed to illustrate the 'publicistic history' of the time. In reality they illustrate nothing but the senseless 'Macchiavellismus' of the period — the same which deferred for years the peace of Westphalia (of which the conclusions were foregone and the details all but certain) with the Empire

bleeding to death all the time. Throughout the war, while generals were fighting and soldiers plundering and peasants starving, pedants were scribbling away in their chancelleries, tinkering at their little alliances, patching up marriages here, corrupting venal commanders there, and at times venturing so far as to concoct assassination. But a folio volume of their futile despatches adds less to our knowledge than a couple of essays from Freytag's *Bilder aus der Deutschen Vergangenheit*; and the student who desires to get a vivid idea of the war had better read even Schiller than wade through the records of tortuous intrigue on which even Ranke and Droysen employed their great talents. The view of a certain school of historians is thus summed up by the American translator of Gindely's *Thirty Years' War*: 'Diplomacy is the point of most interest and importance in the history of a war': battles are but incidents' and so on. The negotiations which precede a war and those which end it are it is true of interest: for example the debates in the American Senate which heralded Secession, and the diplomatic struggles which ended in the Treaty of Portsmouth. But the writer who should present a history of the American Civil War or the Russo-Japanese contest on the basis of the neglect of military operations and their social results would assuredly command neither an extensive nor an intelligent audience. Yet this was the view held not so long ago. It is sufficiently irritating to find Ranke in his great *Geschichte Wallensteins* practically ignoring the duke's ferocious 'Blutgericht' after Lützen (which probably did more to ruin him than all his half-hearted palterings with treason—if treason it was), and Gindely dismissing the battle of Nördlingen in eighteen lines, while

<sup>1</sup> For an example of the value of diplomacy during war see note on p. 89 of the 'Relation.'

he devotes six pages to an account of the Infanta Mary's journey from Spain to Vienna in 1629-1631.

But of late years the cult of the protocol has sensibly diminished, and has given place to exhaustive enquiry into matters of more human interest—the sociological concomitants and results of the war. And in this respect there must be exempted from any censure on the 'new material' the few town-records which have been published or utilised for such admirable monographs as Wille's *Hanau im dreissigjährigen Kriege*.

They offer genuine and at times horrifying evidence of the dislocation of society and the annihilation of the common feelings of humanity which resulted from the war. But when we seek for the testimony of eye witnesses of military operations we find little in German : we must turn to foreign testimony. We have in English Robert Monro's simple soldierly narrative of his *Expedition with the Scots Regiment* and George Fleetwood's single *Letter* to his father, published by the Camden Society in 1847. Then comes the quaint 'Itinerarium' of Thomas Carve 'Tripperariensis' and chaplain in 'Deveroux's' regiment, written in Latin by an Irishman ; and then we have the French Memoirs (notably those of Guébriant by Le Laboureur) which are after a certain date, later generally than the events with which we are concerned, excellent. Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, the Italian, had served in the war, but he writes rather as a fluent historian than a soldier ; up to the time when he left the service, however, his evidence is superior to that of any literary compilers.

Even Walter Harte's *Gustavus Adolphus*, though not published till 1759, is by reason of its reference to first-hand<sup>1</sup> authorities of more value than many modern and more pretentious works.

<sup>1</sup> E. g. Vol. ii, p. 331, *sub finem*, and his constant references to *Memoirs Communicated*.

Harte may easily have been in touch with men whose grandfathers had served under the great king of Sweden : the last events of the Thirty Years' War were hardly more remote from his times than those of the Waterloo campaign from our own : and in spite of Carlyle's petulant description of his book as a 'Wilderness' it remains a valuable military record of the times.

To the scarce professional narratives of the war—or at least of its most stirring years—we here add one. Where Sydenham Poyntz was an eye-witness, as at Breitenfeld, Lützen and Nördlingen, he is an unimpeachable authority. Where accounts vary, he is more likely to be right than all the Brunners and the Pufendorfs. How accounts do vary no one would believe who has not studied the professedly contemporary narratives. This is no doubt the result of uncritical reliance on hearsay : but although soldiers' views of mere manoeuvres in battle, amid smoke and slaughter, may well be expected to conflict, it is surely marvellous to find actual events of the first consequence reported in many different ways. There are certainly half a dozen variant accounts of the death of the great Gustavus himself; three or four discrepant versions of the murder of Wallenstein's generals; and —perhaps most remarkable of all— three distinct and utterly incompatible reports of the cold-blooded assassination of Prince Ulrich of Denmark during the peace negotiations in 1633 (Poyntz—*Relation*, p. 88).

One asks, in such conflict of evidence, where to look for the truth : as a rule we should look to the soldier—to the man of action, who is on the spot : and as already stated where Poyntz saw things with his own eyes we may believe him : but the moment he begins to refer to his scribbled notes (pp. 45-123) he becomes only half trustworthy, especially as to names and dates : and when he repeats soldiers' gossip his testimony is worse than

questionable: it is misleading. His chronology under such circumstances becomes, as we shall see, fantastic.

To hearsay, and partly also no doubt to newborn Romanist prejudice, we must attribute his one-sided and malignant portrait of Gustavus Adolphus. He had never been brought in contact with the great king's marvellous personality: probably he had never even seen him: and he repeats without hesitation the calumnies of those who, unable to stand before the Swede in the field, avenged themselves by blackening his character. However far Poyntz's excuses for abandoning the cause of the Protestants and embracing that of the Emperor may have weight (and he certainly makes out a good case against poor drunken John George of Saxony) the fact remains that he was a renegade both in politics and religion, and that he shewed one of the renegade's worst qualities in attacking his former friends. He simply repeats every vile story he hears: for example his talk (p. 60) of the atrocities perpetrated by the Swedes at the peaceful surrender of the city of Würzburg is at variance with every other known account. That mutilation of priests and deflowering of nuns were not unknown before under Christian of Brunswick, and afterwards under Bernhard of Weimar, is unfortunately true, but under the stern rule of Gustavus such things were simply impossible. Still more hateful is the insinuation, worthy of the worst Jesuit of Vienna, that the unlucky assault upon Wallenstein's entrenchments outside Nuremberg was ordered by the king under the influence of liquor (p. 71); it may be dismissed together with the half-veiled charge of licentiousness. That Gustavus was not the demi-god Schiller painted him may be readily conceded: but his life was undoubtedly a chaste one. The one amour that has been laid to his charge was the sin of hotblooded and cruelly checked youth: Margarethe Kabbeljou was the mother: Gustav Gustavson, brave

officer and difficult comrade, the son. But after his union with the not very attractive Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg no question of the king's fidelity to his marriage vow was ever raised save by such slanderers as Sydenham Poyntz had lent his ear to. Every action of the Swede is in like manner distorted: when he does not march on Vienna after the victory of Breitenfeld 'God blinded him' (p. 59). At Würzburg his natural hankering for indiscriminate massacre is only appeased by the promise of a cellar full of gold: and when he gets money he simply appropriates it to his own use: (p. 61). We may compare with this the more authentic story in Harte.<sup>1</sup> There was indeed a great cask full of doubloons which Gustavus would fain have taken possession of for the military chest: but the bottom falling out, a general scramble among the soldiers ensued, which he was powerless to stop, and was forced to allow. The King's ambition according to Poyntz knows no bounds: he is not merely to capture Vienna but Rome also—presumably to make himself Pope: (p. 68) and Pappenheim's last words, which are variously reported, are here given in such a form as to shew the great cavalry general's conviction that Gustavus aimed at the Imperial crown (p. 73.).

But wherever Poyntz was an eyewitness (it is not always easy to say where he was an eyewitness) he is an authority, and a professional authority. His account indeed of the battle of Breitenfeld is meagre, but is what might be expected from a young soldier of the time: it simply amounts to this: that John George of Saxony, his general, ran away and he ran too, though (as he says) he saved the colours (p. 59): but somehow or other his side, by methods which he cannot explain, not having been present, won the battle and practically annihilated the enemy. But he has here at least mercifully spared us his hearsay accounts, and had fortun-

<sup>1</sup> Harte, Vol. I, p. 443.

ately no opportunity of reading 'lying Corantos.' His statement of the disposition of the armies is correct, but with wrong reasons assigned (p. 57) for Gustavus' tactics. From Breitenfeld to Nördlingen he mounts the ladder of promotion: that he turned his coat in the meantime being simply a common incident of any military career of the time. At Lützen he appears as one of Wallenstein's captains, and his personal experience here furnishes us with an answer to the charge brought against the general—that he with an army which had (so the people at Vienna said) held its own, precipitately and treasonably retreated to Bohemia. Poyntz gives a very good reason. That the 'cannon-jades' had run away we knew: the grim general's remark as he saw them go ('canally—bagagy') is actually recorded elsewhere. But we did not know that Wallenstein sent round orderlies to every one of his exhausted captains to see if they could fight again. Here we have one of those captains (p. 126) found 'in a dead sleep and my horse as weary as I lying on the ground by mee asleep' with but three officers of his staff out of some twelve (the 'prima plana' of every troop or company) surviving. And we understand why the general retreated to Prague: his savage punishment of the men who had fought so hard it is not so easy to understand: nor did their comrades either understand or forget it, as he found to his cost when he called upon them in his need. The story of his officers having been bribed may be dismissed without further consideration (p. 74).

At Nördlingen Poyntz is in a position of even greater responsibility. So zealous an officer may be pardoned for the belief (a belief prevalent among men of action as far back as the time of Thucydides) that where he fought the action was decided, and that where he was not things were mismanaged or indifferently conducted; but no doubt he was stationed at a very important point, and it

may well have been that Bernhard of Weimar wasted strength on attacking him (p. 111) which was sorely needed elsewhere.

Of Poyntz's second-hand history we shall presently hear sufficient: but his geography is even worse. That a runaway London 'prentice should have but little acquaintance with the scarce maps of the time is natural enough. But one would expect an officer in fairly high command to know something of the country in which he served. Yet he speaks of 'Nerling' in his apocryphal account of Gustavus' western campaign, apparently without a suspicion that it is the same as Nördlingen (p. 63); and though he undoubtedly fought in the battle before the walls of that city he 'thinks it is in Westphalia' (p. 81), it being really in the very heart of Swabia. He places 'Tessona' as he calls it, meaning Teschen, in Wallaky, which may however be a miswriting of the name 'Galicia.' It is even hard to believe from another passage (p. 101) that he does not think that the Danube flows from East to West—from Austria into Bavaria. And yet according to his own account he had once swum over it (p. 51).

Coming to the actual record of his life as here given we find at the very beginning a statement which, if not intended to be misleading, effectively is so. 'To bee bound an apprentice,' says he (p. 45), 'that life I deemed little better than a dog's life and base.' Yet the Chancery document (discovered by Sir John Maclean and quoted by him in his *Memoirs of the Poyntz Family*), which is here printed as an appendix, proves that he endured not only one, but a multiplicity of apprenticeships. The story is a curious one. Poyntz belonged to a family which might reasonably have looked to provide for its sons in a sphere higher than the base mechanical: but the misconduct of his father, a man apparently more devoted to music than to morals, had brought poverty upon all, and Sydenham was apprenticed to one Golder, a tradesman of London



(trade not specified) with a premium of fifty pounds, which was to be repaid in case of the lad's death (?) or the expiry of his indentures. Sometime early in the reign of Charles 1. William Poyntz, brother of Sydenham, himself a roving blade, who had at one time commanded a royal cruiser in the West-Indies, and had also fought for the king's brother-in-law at Prague in 1620, brings an action against Golder's widow Katherine to recover the fifty pounds on the ground that Sydenham had died at Rotterdam on July 25, 1625, as appeared by the certificate of Thomas Davies captain to the said Sydenham. It is remarkable that Poyntz himself only mentions at a later date Rotterdam nor does he give the name of Davies as an officer under whom he had served, though he speaks of Bailey and Reysby (? Rysby) as his captains. It is no doubt a case of mistaken identity.

The particulars of the Chancery proceedings are illuminative. Katherine Golder seems to have alleged (her pleadings are lost) that Sydenham ran away to avoid punishment for pilfering, and William Poyntz rejoins that his brother was starved and compelled to obtain bread and cheese on his master's credit, for which he was cruelly whipped by Golder. And here appears a plea which is characteristic of the times. Golder, says Poyntz, 'was then before a convicted Recusante and after a confirmed papist' whereas his brother 'was an absolute protestante in the unity with the Church of England' and 'for that hee the said Sidenham Poyntz would not bee conformable and persuaded by the said Golder in this religion to bee a papist or a Roman Catholicke hee the said Golder did turne over as apprentice the said Sydenham Poyntz to one Briscoe' and afterwards to one Weyer (a Frenchman), who being poor men almost starved him 'the which was the onlie cause that the said Sidenham Poyntz (hee beeing a gentleman of an ancient stocke and famylie and tenderly brought upp) did go

beyonde the seas and betooke himselfe to bee a souldier'. The plain English of all which is that Sydenham was a very troublesome idle 'prentice—his gentle birth no doubt making him more difficult to deal with. For what is said of his family is true enough: it was a great family, but its chief possessions lay, not in Surrey where Sydenham was born, but in Gloucestershire, where for centuries the Poyntzes held the manor of Iron Acton and for a time the very extensive one of Winterbourne<sup>1</sup> also.

Though Poyntz dates his narrative 'from Mansfields going out of England' he does not seem to have been much concerned therein, joining the English troops in the Netherlands as a volunteer only early in 1625. Mansfeld was in England no less than three times during 1624, and at his final departure he took with him, or rather left ready to start, a considerable army of pressed men raised in nearly all the counties of England.

The muster-rolls of these troops, as sent in by the counties, are preserved at the Record<sup>2</sup> Office: those for the city of London are particularly complete and uninjured, and the name of Sydenham Poyntz, Poynes, or Pains (he seems to have cared little how he spelt it himself) certainly is not there. We may probably accept his statement that he went abroad at his own expense after Mansfeld's departure, and had no connection with the turbulent crew who made up the bulk of that general's force. He represented a better element, and one which was not lacking in the Thirty Years' War. German writers have said little or nothing of the services rendered by British troops in the struggle. Schiller<sup>3</sup> indeed apparently never knew that Mansfeld had been in England

<sup>1</sup> Maclean *passim*. Fosbrooke's *Gloucestershire* ii, pp. 99, sqq. From Hutchins, *Dorset* ii. pp. 703, 705, it appears that it was through the Gloucestershire branch that the Poyntzes became allied with the Sydenhams.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers: Domestic* 1624. vol. CLXXIX (otherwise case James I. C.).

<sup>3</sup> *Werke*, ed. 1834, p. 955.

or had any English troops under his command ; for speaking of the auxiliary force sent to Gustavus Adolphus under the Marquess of Hamilton, he remarks that their arrival alone is all which history has to record of the deeds of the English in the Thirty Years' War: and this in face of the heroic defence of the Palatinate towns against Tilly by Englishmen, and the innumerable exploits of Gustavus's British captains. After this one is not much surprised to find the accurate Droysen <sup>1</sup> gravely copying Rusdorf, the Count Palatine's envoy, in his statement that Mansfeld at his landing was met and greeted by the 'Archbishop of Westminster.'

Of the events of the year 1625, in which he was actually concerned, Poyntz gives us but a confused account. From many indications it is evident that he had a bad or rather most treacherous memory and his 'particular notes in writing' would seem to have misled rather than guided him. Probably mere ambiguity of expression, however, is responsible for his statement (p. 45) that he was 'taken prisoner by Cap<sup>n</sup> Sidnam his soldiers,' which would seem to imply that Sydenham was a commander on the Spanish side. Of several Sydenhams who were soldiers at the time—the full pedigree is in Hutchins's *Dorsetshire*—none was likely to be fighting against his own countrymen in such a quarrel: we must assume that Poyntz means 'pressed into the service.' But when we come to the history of the attempt to relieve Breda, we are in touch for the first time with the fighting man, writing about things he understands. Founded merely on hearsay as the contemporary accounts of the siege are, Poyntz's account confirms them. The 'narrow bancke along the river side, at the end of which bancke stood skonces behind skonces with canons upon them' can be traced with sufficient exactness in the plate in the *Theatrum*

<sup>1</sup> *Gustaf Adolf*. I. p. 172.

*Europæum* : the holding back of the French and Dutch is a particular (p. 46) confirmed at least by letters of the time.<sup>1</sup>

Still relying on his 'notes' and, as we may conjecture, not always able to decipher them exactly, Poyntz gives us a brief and rather rambling account of Mansfeld's last luckless campaign in Germany. He himself was shipped off from Amsterdam with many other English and Scots to what he called the 'Stif-breames in.....' (p. 47). At first sight this name seems inexplicable : the best explanation is that what he had written down was originally 'Stift Bremen' (the Bishopric of Bremen) and that looking to his notes years afterwards he took Bremen for a plural, and thought the whole expression denoted a landing place at or near some important town. That the force to which he was attached did land at Bremen and was royally welcomed and entertained there we know from other sources.<sup>2</sup> Poyntz, as already mentioned, was no geographer, and his readings of 'Oysterbank' for 'Osterburg' and 'Sendle' for 'Stendal' may very well pass muster : but when we come to 'Recant Castle' we are fairly puzzled. The place which was actually stormed was Rogätz<sup>3</sup> (it is fair to state that there is great doubt as to its name and situation) but Poyntz omits the most remarkable particular with regard to its capture. It was believed that the garrison had by a compact with the evil one rendered themselves invulnerable to leaden bullets, and no shot was fired against them : they were clubbed to death with cudgels and musquet-stocks or stabbed. This belief in invulnerability was not unnatural considering the low penetrating power of

<sup>1</sup> E. g. Hist. MSS. Comm. Report V, App. p. 411. There is, however, a most unfavourable account of the conduct of the English troops at Breda in Uetterodt von Scharffenberg's *Ernest Graf zu Mansfeld* (Gotha, 1867) p. 621.

<sup>2</sup> Uetterodt, p. 634.

<sup>3</sup> Uetterodt, p. 677. Rittner in Küster's *Antiquitt : Tangermundenses*, Pt. II, p. 30.

the ammunition of the day and the heavy armour worn : but it is worth noting that Christian of Brunswick thought it worth<sup>1</sup> while to employ his ducal brother's glass-workers to cast glass bullets to be used against the diabolical Tilly.

There follows a most remarkable slip—and there are many slips in Poyntz's *Relation*, even with regard to affairs in which he was himself concerned. It was of course not Tilly, as he says (p. 47) but Wallenstein, who defeated Mansfeld at the bridge of Dessau—'Tresao' our author calls it, though he afterwards gets as near to the real name as 'Tesso'. It seems almost incredible that a soldier who was actually engaged in the battle can have been ignorant of the name of the commander of the enemy : we must attribute it, as a mere slip, to the hurried and careless character of this part of the narrative. The rest of the campaign is fairly accurately described, including Mansfeld's last march into Hungary. One mysterious name only do we meet with—'Podulo' : it is either Popelau, a place not far from Oppeln in Silesia, or Oppeln itself, which is usually given<sup>2</sup> as one of Mansfeld's halting places.

Why Poyntz should write 'Solmits' for 'Olmütz' is not very plain, but it is interesting to recognise in 'Whitsecar' the then respectable fortress of Weisskirchen in Moravia. In the account of the attack upon this town (p. 48) we find the name of an officer not mentioned elsewhere—'Tarbychan.' This is almost certainly Sandilands (of Torphichen). That he had no right to the title as one of nobility is of course true : he could be at most but a cadet of the family : but he was probably taking advantage of the well established Scottish custom, by which a man is addressed by the name of an estate with which he is connected, to magnify himself.

<sup>1</sup> Uetterodt, pp. 55, 97, 655, quoting in the latter place a broadside of 1625.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Niemann, *Geschichte der Grafen im Mansfeld* (Aschersleben, 1834), p. 226. Niemann also cites authorities for the attack on (?) Rogätz.

Sandilands is mentioned as one of the officers serving<sup>1</sup> in the Netherlands when Mansfeld's expedition started thence, and he is briefly dismissed by Monro in his catalogue of British auxiliaries as 'killed in the Pfalz.' If the identification here suggested is correct, we have one more particular of the career of a brave officer, hitherto unrecorded.

Of Mansfeld's death, as of so many other events of importance in the Thirty Years' War, we have several conflicting versions, including the romantic one which represents him as dying in his harness, supported by his friends, and uttering brave words to the last. Others allege that he expired in his bed, reconciled to the Roman Church, and receiving her last consolations. But whichever story is right, Poyntz's certainly is not. The 'bastard', as Imperialist writers love to call him, died many leagues away from the Pasha of Belgrade and his treacherous hospitality, in a small town of which even the name<sup>2</sup> is uncertain. That he was poisoned is unlikely: the facile charge is brought in the case of nearly every commander of repute who died suddenly (as most did) in the Great War. The case of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar is the one to which most real suspicion attaches: but brief reflection on the reckless lives of the soldiers of the time and the qualities of their physicians will convince us that the chief wonder was that they were ever able to resist any disease at all. They were mostly cripples after forty. Mansfeld died young, and with his death Poyntz chronicles that of another youthful commander—John Ernest the younger of Saxe-Weimar. He also is of course suspected to have been helped to his death; his heart was said to be found 'shrivelled to the size of a nut;' but a more credible

<sup>1</sup> Fortescue, *Hist. of the British Army* I, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Hennequin de Villermont, *Mansfeld*. (Brux. 1865), II, p. 343, calls it Ratona. Uetterodt (p. 706) gives a choice of Urakowitz, Wrakowitz, Rackau, and Rokau.

account assigns his fatal sickness to strongly seasoned Hungarian dishes. The observer who notes that the chaste and abstemious Tilly was almost the only General of the time who attained to old age will have little difficulty in accounting for deaths of this kind. The principal guests at Baner's wedding in 1640 were dead within a few weeks afterwards—the bridegroom himself not much later.

There are two circumstantial statements made by Poyntz in his account of Mansfeld's march through Hungary which deserve some consideration. The first (p. 50) is that he supplied the Turks with French engineers or artillerymen: the other (p. 49) that he borrowed janissaries from them and terrified Wallenstein by placing them in the forefront of his battle. The first story is probably a garbled version of a real transaction, viz: Mansfeld's pawning of his guns to Bethlen Gabor: for the gunners would in all probability go with the pieces. Of the second there seems to be no confirmation. Sir Thomas Roe, English envoy at the Porte, would be the most likely to report such a story (in his 'Negotiations') from the Ottoman side: but though he has plenty to say of Mansfeld he is silent about this. In his will, as given by Villermont, Mansfeld certainly makes mention of '*les chiaux turcs qui nous ont conduit par l'Hongrie et la Bosnie*' but this is a very different matter from thousands of janissaries. Nevertheless, Poyntz's evidence, as that of a soldier actually serving with the force, deserves attention.

There follows the narrative of a Turkish captivity: and the mere name is enough to put us upon our guard: for all students of seventeenth century literature will recognise here a stock asset of the romancer. No story of adventure is complete without a 'captivity among the Moors,' and as a rule we therefore look with suspicion upon such incidents. Yet after careful scrutiny we can find no flaw in Poyntz's narrative. The compassionate beauty of

the harem, the dissolute son, even the bastinado, are perhaps embellishments—certainly they are to be met with in almost all such adventures. But in other respects the story bears marks of veracity. That Mansfeld's soldiers, practically disbanded in a country absolutely unknown to them, should be snapped up as slaves is perfectly natural. And there is here no fierce engagement of the kind (generally naval) which so often precedes the captivity. Poyntz goes where he thinks he can get good wine and pays dear for his folly. Nor can he be detected as a falsificator by his chronology, wherein the inventor is so often entrapped. From the autumn of 1626 when Mansfeld died, to the battle of Breitenfeld in 1631, is not far short of the time which Poyntz claims for his captivity—'six years' he says with a little pardonable exaggeration (p. 54). We have no ground for disputing his story except manifest errors of time or place : and these are hard to find. That Belgrade was not 'the uttermost Towne the Turke hath in Hungary' may be conceded : but it does not follow that Poyntz was not there : he was merely ignorant of geography. And when we find him quite naturally describing a town, known all over Germany as 'Erlau,' by its Hungarian name of 'Egre' it is a point in favour of his veracity : he had at least not concocted his adventures with the aid of a map : and this use of Hungarian instead of German names is general. Again, the description of 'Saint Marks' formerly a Cloister now 'a Market-Towne where are two Constables, the one a Turke the other a Christian' (p. 53) and the account of the rascally 'Seneschall' of Novigrad, seem to bear the mark of verisimilitude as portraying the character of what was then the Debatable Land between Crescent and Cross. We may perhaps set such marks of good faith against the story of the galleys (p. 53) in which Poyntz professes to have been for a whole year. Where were those galleys ? surely not at Belgrade. So too

B



we really must take exception to the swimming over ' Danubius the River ' (p. 51) which is so lightheartedly chronicled.

We come now to the episode of Poyntz's conversion. Assuredly the ' elder of the Dutch Church ' of whose resolute Protestantism his brother William had made such boast, and who a few years later paraded that Protestantism before the eyes of carping Independents in his ' Vindication ' must have forgotten this damning record. ' I could not choose but admit of it ' says the humble convert (p. 54) ' and follow their advice therein which was to bee made a member of that holy Church and wherein by God's grace I mean to dy considering it could not bee but donne by God's speciall grace ' and so forth : this reads oddly when set against his own appeals to ' my constant Professions which from my first years according to the Instructions of this my native Country have been in the Reformed Protestant Religion '. (Appendix B).

This extreme fervour may be largely accounted for by the atmosphere in which he was living when he wrote the *Relation*. He was the guest of Sir Lewis Tresham, younger brother of that Francis Tresham who betrayed the Gunpowder Plot, and himself a staunch Romanist. His sister Lady Webb was among the ninety<sup>1</sup> Recusants killed by the fall of a house in London where they were holding a religious service, to the vast delight of the mob. He had moreover married Maria Perez, a full-blooded Spaniard, and step-daughter of Alderman Moore of London. We note that Poyntz (p. 125) claims kinship with the Moores or Mores, though the only mention of the name in the pedigrees given by Maclean is that of ' Frawnch Moore ' who married into the family thirty or forty years before ; and this may possibly have procured him, together with his fervid Romanism, an introduction to the Treshams. But we note also that these latter took an interest in

<sup>1</sup> State Papers : Domestic : 1623, vol. CLIV, no. 8.

and occasionally <sup>1</sup> relieved broken soldiers of Lord Vaux's Netherlands regiment, in which Poyntz (p. 2) had served. Be this as it may, he appears at the time of writing the *Relation* as their guest, and, from his language, their humble guest, which may in part account for his strong professions of like belief with theirs. It is worth noting that like other adherents of the persecuted doctrines Sir Lewis left sadly diminished estates at his death, and that his own son William succeeded to little beyond the empty title. It seems likely that he sought refuge in France, as did others of his co-religionists under the Commonwealth, and this would account for the presence of our MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale. He was the last of his race.

We come now to a fresh instalment of the story of Poyntz's own military career; but unfortunately he has thought fit to prefix to it a narrative, entirely derived from hearsay, of the King of Sweden's first campaign in Germany; and like many such hearsay narratives it only deserves notice in order to have its inaccuracies marked. Gustavus Adolphus landed at Peenemünde (of which Poyntz does not know the name) with thirteen thousand—not seven thousand—men. He did not build a 'Fort Royall' (p. 55) there, but only repaired an old Danish entrenchment—having indeed no mind to tarry there. Nor did Frankfort on the Oder detain the conqueror eight days, but two only: nor was Colonel Sparre (not Sparke) there killed but captured, and lived to fight much. On the other hand the relations of Gustavus with the dotard Duke of Pomerania are pretty incisively indicated. But the most marvellous point to be noticed in this account, compendious as it is, is the complete omission of all mention of the most awful event of the War—almost of modern history—the sack and burning of Magdeburg. It is a relief to turn from this slipshod specimen of secondhand history to

<sup>1</sup> State Papers: Domestic: 1628, vol. XCI, no. 38.

Poyntz's own personal experience. In spite of their wallets and their crusts his poor Franciscan friends raised him a purse of a hundred angels, and equipped him 'de cap à pied' for the wars (p. 55): it is evident that they had at their disposal deeper purses than their own. But surely they can hardly have known that they were furnishing a soldier for John George of Saxony, who, whatever side he happened to be fighting on, was never anything else but a Lutheran and a heretic. Of all the deplorable potentates of the time, with the exception perhaps of the Elector of Brandenburg and George of Hessen-Darmstadt, the Duke of Saxony is the worst. Bullied by Gustavus Adolphus into a Swedish alliance and scourged out of it again by the Emperor's generals; selling his support to the impoverished Kaiser at the price of huge slices of the hereditary dominions; the man is nevertheless praised by some modern writers—e. g. Barthold<sup>1</sup>—as the model of an old German prince, because, drunk or sober, he hated foreigners. Poyntz's estimate of him is severe but correct (pp. 77-85): his happiest time was no doubt when after Breitenfeld he was living at Prague in another man's house and at other people's expense. But even then his pusillanimous fear of consequences led him to guard and seal up the Emperor's private property: he was only acting as his representative, he said—keeping his kingdom of Bohemia (out of which he had just chased his troops) intact for him. Except with regard to the terms of surrender of the city of Prague, which are given in full in the *Theatrum Europæum* and elsewhere and include no stipulation for ransom (p. 79) it is likely that Poyntz gives us a generally accurate view of the Elector's stay there. If he did not get continuously drunk in the Bohemian capital he was acting contrary to his usual habits: and if he did not run away at the first approach of danger he was belying his reputation.

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichten des grossen deutschen Krieges* i. p. 221.

It will be noted as an example of Poyntz's exceedingly bad memory that he reports as a particular of the battle of Lützen (p. 72) a circumstance really belonging to the battle of Breitenfeld—the manœuvring to obtain the 'weather-gage' or advantage of the wind, which in the earlier engagement meant a good deal, the dust and heat being terrible : whereas at Lützen the position of the two armies was decided for the day by the situation of the sunken road or ditch over which all the fighting really took place. In all other respects Poyntz's account is that of an eyewitness. He notes the great superiority of the Saxon artillery (p. 58), little as he loved Saxons. The Imperialists indeed only overcame that difficulty by 'charging for the guns' and cutting down the 'Constables.' The King's extended and extenuated front is explained just as we might expect a man in the ranks to explain it. Poyntz thinks it was a piece of bravado on the part of Gustavus : it was really (setting aside internal complications of arrangement) a repetition of tactics as old as Hannibal's at Cannae—the pitting of an easily handled line against unwieldy and self-hindering columns.

With the end of the battle of Breitenfeld ends for the time Poyntz's credibility as a chronicler. He has already given us one totally inaccurate story—that of Tilly's capture of 'Lypwicke' (page 57) which was really a perfectly peaceful occupation, unaccompanied by pillage. But this is nothing to what follows. His chronicle of the king's campaign in Franconia and Bavaria (of that on the Rhine he knows little) is simply a romance and an absurd romance : it is only valuable as a contemporary record of the Imperialist portrait of the ogre called Gustavus Adolphus. The mere outline of the campaign is false : the capture of 'Swinford' (page 62) preceded that of Würzburg, and the description of the attack on the latter town is so inaccurate as almost to prove

that Poyntz had never seen the place at all. The picturesque account of the king 'with his sword in his hand and his sleeve naked up to the elbow encouraging his Souldiers' (p. 61), is as mere a fancy as the story of his addressing the assembled nobility in the same butcherly costume. Gustavus was certainly under fire: indeed he had the tip of one of his gauntlet-fingers carried off by a ball: but he was a mere spectator of the forcing of the passage of the Main by Ramsay and Hamilton and their Scots. There are divers accounts of the capture of the Marienberg, the citadel of Würzburg, including one which represents the whole garrison as overcome by liquor at the time of the assault, but none which approaches Poyntz's wild tale of massacre of 'Man Woman and Childe'—a mere stock expression appropriate to the sack of any town, but not very applicable to a citadel. That there were nuns who had taken refuge in the fortress, as Harte tells us (vol. I, p. 444) is like enough; but he is probably right, considering the Swedish discipline at that time, when he adds that 'not a nun was violated, not a matron affronted, nor a child terrified.' Poyntz is giving us merely the gossip of the Imperialist camp-fires, which yet contains here and there the germs of truth. It is quite correct (though the facts or rather the consequences of the facts have been overlooked by historians) that the Bishops of Würzburg had rendered themselves odious by their persecutions. Bishop Franz von Hatzfeld had been in possession but a few months: but his predecessor Philipp Adolph had, as Poyntz (p. 62) says, drawn upon himself the rebuke even of the bigoted Ferdinand. Had it not been for this the subjects of the See would not so easily have deserted their ruler: for the ecclesiastical princes were as a rule beloved by all: 'unterm Krummstab ist gut leben' was still a good German proverb. But Philipp Adolph's vindictive zeal had not been exercised solely

against Protestants : he had<sup>1</sup> been infected by the mania common to the times for hunting out and burning of 'witches' so called : and this put every man's and every woman's life in danger, high or low, Romanist or Protestant. If Poyntz's account of Gustavus's reception by the 'Nobility and Gentry' (p. 62) be not absolutely true, it is at least what might have been expected to happen.

The months spent in the reduction of the Palatinate and the Upper Rhine or in winter quarters are to this romancer as nothing. After a night spent at 'Swinford' he hurries the king off to 'Rodenburg upon the Dover' where the inhabitants offer such a valorous resistance that with their garrison of 1500 they kill 3000 Swedes (p. 63). At this point we begin to perceive that we must as a rule divide Poyntz's figures not by two only, but by twenty. But the most amazing part of the story is that Rothenburg was, strictly speaking, never besieged by Gustavus Adolphus at all. During his triumphal progress westward the little Franconian fortress was swept into the net, its inhabitants apparently welcoming the Swedes. While the king was occupied in the Palatinate and elsewhere, Tilly appeared with his resuscitated army and by a sudden attack made himself master of the town. But the resistance of the citizens to his troopers was so obstinate that he is traditionally said to have spared them from massacre only on condition of one of them emptying an enormous bowl of wine—the famous 'Meistertrunk'. It is difficult to believe that within a few weeks they can have become so enthusiastic for the Imperial cause as Poyntz represents. But the whole story is a fable. On his march to Bavaria, many months after the capture

<sup>1</sup> Soldan. *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse*. Stuttgart 1880. There was a fortnightly 'auto da fé' at Würzburg, even children of nine years old being burned alive. It was only stopped when some of the victims, under the torture, denounced the Bishop himself as a sorcerer. cf. *Church Quarterly Review*. Jan. 1904.

of Würzburg, the king took a road (accurately traced by Monro) to the north of Rothenburg altogether. Nor did he ever appear before its walls till late in the year 1632 when, after his defeat at Nuremberg, he again marched towards the Bavarian frontier. The whole story of his march by Rothenburg and Dinkelsbühl and the siege of the former place, if there was one at all, belongs to this latter period. Such mistakes seem almost incredible: perhaps we may set against them the fairly accurate account (though only hearsay still) of the passage of the Lech. Poyntz's informants knew at least something of the engagement. It is quite true that part of Gustavus's troops crossed by a ford, however discovered (p. 64) and the tremendous crashing of the tree branches is described by all contemporary authorities. It is generally attributed to the effect of the Swedish artillery fire, but it was more likely, as Harte (II. p. 144) says, due to a desperate attempt of Tilly to form an impromptu breastwork or obstruction with the boughs. Poyntz is alone (p. 65) in attributing it to a manoeuvre of Aldringer to cover his retreat—Aldringer having really been rendered *hors de combat* altogether by a wound in the head. The remainder of the story as to Aldringer's deception of the Swedes is a mere fairy-tale.

Passing over such minor inaccuracies as the assigning of eight days to an unsuccessful attack on Donauwerth, which was captured with ease in forty-eight hours, and which is manifestly confused with Ingolstadt, the one town which did successfully resist the conqueror, we come to the most marvellous mistake of all. Poyntz gives a long, and as it seems an accurate, or at least circumstantial, account of the attempt of Count Cratz von Scharffenstein, Governor of Ingolstadt, to betray the town (pp. 66, 67). The particulars given are minute: and only one thing spoils the historical value of the story—viz., that the whole transaction took place two years later

when Gustavus had long been dead. Cratz did plot to betray the city—but to Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar; was discovered, had to flee for his life, and being afterwards captured at Nördlingen met a traitor's death. Poyntz does not mention his stalwart accomplice Fahrensbach, who when he came to the scaffold leaped off the platform and brained more than one of the guard before he could be cut down. But he actually speaks of Cratz as made governor of Augsburg by Gustavus (p. 68) which is of course a pure invention. After this amazing anachronism we are content to pass over as trifling the statement that the King wasted three months in Munich—he really stayed there three weeks.

It may very well be asked, where during all this time was Sydenham Poyntz? The answer is that he was engaged in transferring his allegiance. And common though such action was among soldiers of all ranks in the Thirty Years' War, he was ashamed of it. The whole of his 'character of the Elector of Saxony' is really one long apology for deserting him. He tells us (p. 75) that he was captured 'in foitland' by Butler, 'one of the Emperor's Coronells;' that he applied to John George for his ransom and did not get it, and thereupon took service under the Kaiser. There is nothing disgraceful according to the notions of the times or even (considering that the men were all mercenaries) of our own, in such a proceeding: whole regiments did the like at times; and so did Field-m Marshals and Electors. What we do notice, however, is that Poyntz nowhere indicates that in taking service with Butler he was really enlisting under Wallenstein: for Wallenstein's name was in 1636 no longer one of glory but of disgrace; and Poyntz figures as the emperor's soldier only—with a lively hope of favours yet to come. But there is every indication that he was with Wallenstein's force when the latter moved out of Bohemia into Saxony or rather the Upper Palatinate to begin the



campaign which ended at Lützen. If so we may use his evidence to correct current history. He gives the fortresses captured by the Imperialists at the outset in the following order: Elbogen, Falkenau, Eger; and a glance at the map will show that this is the natural succession for troops advancing from the East: yet the bookish historians of the time reverse the order, putting Eger, the most westerly of the three, first. Again, Poyntz speaks positively and more than once of Colonel 'Beckar' as the conqueror of Elbogen (pp. 69, 70) an exploit generally attributed to Holk, as in the *Theatrum Europæum* (II, p. 652). Now if there be any truth at all in Poyntz's story of Wallenstein's message to the attacking officer—'if hee did not take in the towne in eight days hee would have his head' (p. 69), that order was certainly never sent to an officer in high command like Holk: but it is very like Wallenstein's way of dealing with his subalterns.

Whether Poyntz was present in the camp before Nuremberg it is impossible to say from what he tells us: probably not: for where he is actually engaged as at Lützen and Nördlingen his account of things is vivid enough; whereas here he confines himself to vague generalities, very different from the graphic narrative of Monro, who was present and was wounded in the grand assault upon Wallenstein's entrenchments. We may conclude that Poyntz was on duty elsewhere, but was recalled to the main army in time to take part in the battle of Lützen. Of his share in that battle we have two accounts—one (pp. 71-74) in which he attempts, not very successfully, to give a general military survey of the engagement: the other in the kind of appendix subjoined to his general *Relation* (pp. 126-127) in which he gives a lively picture of his own personal dangers and escapes. In the first account his story must simply take rank with a multitude of others, often divergent and sometimes incompatible. For example, Harte

(II, p. 333) puts Pappenheim's arrival on the field late in the afternoon, when Gustavus Adolphus had long been dead. Other (modern) writers<sup>1</sup> speak of the great cavalry leader as wounded in the first onset. Poyntz gives the common account—viz, that Pappenheim arrived in the very thick of the engagement. But his story of the single combat between him and Gustavus is absurd. Such traditions were long repeated: but they were merely the invention of people who desired to assert the fulfilment of an alleged prophecy.<sup>2</sup> No doubt they were to the taste of Poyntz's host Tresham and his Spanish wife. The version of Pappenheim's last words is one of many (p. 73).

After the account of the battle of Lützen Poyntz digresses into a personal matter, and gives us his estimate of the Duke of Saxony, which, as already noticed, is really a long apology for deserting that worthless prince. We may sum up the whole as a collection of political gossip: like most gossip sometimes false and sometimes hitting off the truth. Yet here and there it admits of positive confutation. In spite of his Frenchified Calvinism, it is impossible to believe that the Elector Palatine was absolutely ignorant of German. (p. 78). It was not Voigtland but Lusatia that the Emperor 'morgaged' (p. 78) in return for the Elector's assistance against the Count Palatine. The false account of the conditions under which Prague was surrendered has already been noticed above: and it is entirely untrue that the Elector and Baner were attacked and defeated in their retreat from before the city (p. 82). There was, as a consequence of John George's refusal to co-operate, no real attack on Prague at all, but as the joint armies retired they were pursued by Croats, and the accepted

<sup>1</sup> E. g. Winter. *Dreissigjahr: Krieg*, p. 421, presumably relying on some unquoted authority.

<sup>2</sup> Harte. II, p. 268 note.

account is that these were beaten off with <sup>1</sup> heavy loss. The figures given (p. 82) as the amount of the Swedish and Saxon losses—7000 or 8000—are of course absurd.

Having made an end of John George of Saxony and his 'mutabilitie,' Poyntz appears as an eye witness again—for he was certainly engaged in Wallenstein's somewhat inglorious campaign in Silesia in 1633. Here he mentions as one of the opposing generals 'Duvalt for Brandenburg' (p. 86). Poyntz is by no means alone in writing the name thus: but it will hardly be believed that this much-suffering officer was really called Taupadel—of a respectable family in Thuringia. He appears at various times during the war under the names of Daupadel, Dewbattle, Dubartle, Dubald, Duvald, Duval, Tuball; and a multitude of others. Harte even (I, p. 167 note) proposed to identify him with the Swedish colonel 'Hubald' who captured Hanau, but afterwards thought better of it (II, p. 12 note). But upon the form 'Dewbattle' Grant in his *Memoirs of Hepburn* constructed the preposterous theory that Taupadel's real name was Macdougall, adding the absurd remark that Macdougall's '*nom de guerre* was Dewbattle'—a statement which has been copied by writers <sup>2</sup> who should know better. False writing of foreign names is common enough in the histories of the war—(e. g. 'Hebron' for 'Hepburn,' and 'Rudwen' for 'Ruthven'), but 'Duval' for 'Taupadel' would appear to be unique.

Near Schweidnitz in Silesia, and during a truce promoted by Wallenstein for the purpose of peace negotiations, happened the murder of prince Ulrich of Denmark. Here there appears upon the scene for the first time in Poyntz's narrative the sinister figure of Ottavio Piccolomini as the secret enemy of Wallenstein. Too

<sup>1</sup> Lotichius, *Rerum Germanicarum libri*, vol. ii, p. 252. Khevenhüller. xii. 1276.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. Leslie: *Historical Records of the Family of Leslie*. (Edinb. 1869) vol. iii, p. 242. Fischer: *Scots in Germany*. p. 283.

good an Imperialist to say so openly, Poyntz yet gives us clearly to understand (p. 87) that this murder was effected for a political object, and that Piccolomini was the instigator. The motive was not far to seek. To Piccolomini and men of his stamp the war was their livelihood and their one means of enriching themselves. It added to their hatred of Wallenstein that he was continually, treasonably or not, negotiating for peace: and Piccolomini saw plainly enough that the coldblooded murder of a young prince of one of their ruling dynasties would fill the negotiating potentates with alarm and suspicion: which it did.

The mystery in which the affair is involved, is increased by the variety of reports concerning it. The one which inculcates Piccolomini most is that quoted by Menzel<sup>1</sup> from the *Theatrum Europæum*. According to this, a number of officers of both parties had been breakfasting together 'al fresco.' Prince Ulrich mounted to ride away, and as he started Piccolomini called to him: he halted, turned, and was shot dead on the spot by Piccolomini's 'Jäger,' disguised as a jester. Poyntz's version is hardly less inculpatory: but the true Imperialist story is to be found in Khevenhüller:<sup>2</sup> it runs as follows: at a dinner given by Piccolomini a sham fight is arranged for the following day: a 'Jäger' of the host's hears the proposition and conceals himself during the fight behind a bush 'in hopes to earn a reward,' whence he shoots the prince through the lungs, and he expires in a few hours. But all accounts agree in stating that the assassin disappeared—was in fact spirited away. Poyntz adds that Wallenstein was 'mad-angrie' as indeed he might very well be. But the wily Italian's point was gained: the princes of the Union were filled with a deeper distrust than ever of

<sup>1</sup> *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, vii, p. 388. *Theatrum Europæum* iii, p. 114; cf. Mitchell, *Life of Wallenstein*, p. 336, who has a fourth (slightly divergent) version and Förster *Wallenstein* p. 216 n. even a fifth.

<sup>2</sup> *Annales* xii, 589.

the Duke of Friedland's ways and works ; and this distrust cost him dear when at Eger a few months after he practically threw himself upon their mercy. Far too little attention has been paid by historians to this incident, to which Poyntz attaches due importance. It must be remembered that Piccolomini still counted as Wallenstein's confidant.

In what follows Poyntz's remarks as to Wallenstein's intentions must be taken as those of a person entirely outside the political inner circle : as to the Duke's actions, we have means of checking the wild statements here recorded. A long passage is devoted (pp. 89-92) to a story of the attempted corruption of Don Baltazar (Marradas) by Wallenstein : as a matter of fact that general was, for a long time before the final catastrophe, on the worst<sup>1</sup> of terms with the generalissimo, on account of the release of his prisoners Thurn and Taupadel after the surrender at Steinau (p. 89), and was at the time of the famous banquet (or banquets) at Pilsen sulking in his tents at Frauenberg near Eger. He presents us with the blackest instance of ingratitude to be found among the officers whose fortune Wallenstein<sup>2</sup> had made. He at least had no shadow of proof of the general's treason ; yet he was among the most relentless in his persecution, and received his reward in the form of a gift of 124,000 gulden out of the dead man's estate. As to the statement that Wallenstein beheaded Schafgotzsch (' Showtcoats, ' p. 89) ' for doing that hee did without command ' it is of course absurd. The poor man was actually executed, long after, for complicity in Wallenstein's treasons, and died asseverating his innocence to the last. But he was a Protestant, and could expect no mercy from Vienna.

We have already spoken of the motives which inspired Poyntz's

<sup>1</sup> Liliencron in the *Deutsche Rundschau* Lxxxlii. p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Hallwich (s. n.) in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*.

virulence against Wallenstein: his politics are those of the true mercenary to whom the mere cry of 'treason' is sufficient to make him turn on his own officer. There were two classes of people who were inimical to the generalissimo—the Jesuits, who never forgot that Wallenstein had been born a Protestant, and knew the reluctance with which he had carried out the Edict of Restitution — and the professional soldiers: to the latter class of course Poyntz belonged: but it is difficult to account for his animosity (p. 99) against the dead man till one remembers his devoted attachment to the assassin Butler. It will be noted that the great nobles like Eggenberg and Questenberg<sup>1</sup> were Wallenstein's firm friends wellnigh to the end.

There follows (pp. 92-93) the most circumstantial account which we possess of a very obscure incident—the alleged attempt of Schaffenberg to seize Vienna. Ranke with all his wealth of documentary material has apparently passed over this remarkable story in silence, and only a few contemporary historians mention it. One might almost conjecture that the narrative of an attempt which came so near to endangering the Emperor's person was suppressed as far as possible. Gualdo Priorato (lib. viii) mentions it briefly, and Adlzreitter at more length, adding what is apparently quite true (pars iii, lib. xix, p. 313) that Schaffenberg was afterwards pardoned by the emperor: it will be noticed that Poyntz's narrative allows for the possibility of this: he does not speak of any punishment inflicted on the commander. But a contemporary Spanish account in the Bodleian Library, which comes next to Poyntz's in circumstantiality, though it calls the colonel 'Ausemberg', gives an account of his execution.<sup>2</sup> Unless

<sup>1</sup> Liliencron, *ubi supra*. p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Seld. A subt. 6. 'Schaffenberg' cannot possibly to Schäftenberg, who was with Wallenstein at Pilsen.

therefore Poyntz is giving us again a mere romance like the story of the attempted corruption of Marradas, we have here an invaluable piece of contemporary history elsewhere unrecorded.

Of the final catastrophe at Eger Poyntz knows just as much as any other contemporary who was not on the spot at the time, saving always the possibility that his friend Butler may have given him details. He certainly introduces a new and picturesque element (p. 94) in his account of Piccolomini's pursuit of the flying Wallenstein and his rear-guard action with Butler: but the story is absolutely unsupported by other evidence, which generally goes to prove that at this time the Imperialist commanders were plundering Wallenstein's baggage-waggons at Pilsen. As usual, 2000 men are slain on both sides. Poyntz has also a new version of the old story of the intercepted letter (p. 96) which he himself transcribes elsewhere in a different form (p. 132). If Butler did produce such a letter as is here described it was most certainly a forgery and a clumsy forgery. But Poyntz is, as usual, talking at random. The statement that *fifty* musqueteers were concealed outside each door of the banqueting-room at Eger (p. 98) is at variance with all known accounts: *six* is the number generally given and accepted.

To the hundred versions of Wallenstein's assassination Poyntz adds only one detail, which is probably authentic and derived from the statements of Butler. He says (p. 97) 'Gordon not trusting his owne souldiers who were all Germans advised Butler to bring in as many of his Irish as hee could without suspicion.' And further 'Butler trusted none but his Irish and *not all of them nelher*, knowing what they should doe.' This goes to confirm the view taken by Hallwich and other defenders of Wallenstein as to the despicable part played by Butler and the rest. Their soldiers were truer to their salt than themselves, but they calculated

correctly as to the apathy which would succeed the *fait accompli*. If Harte be correct, Edmund Burke would be one of those whose loyalty would be sorely tried at such a crisis. Carve,<sup>1</sup> Devereux's 'chaplain,' actually appears on the list of the Duke's poor pensioners in receipt of alms. There is probably a good deal of exaggeration in the account of the rewards given to the assassins: Butler complained that Leslie, who got first to Vienna, had the lion's share of the spoils: and Marradas and Piccolomini were certainly those who profited most. Poyntz says he was present at the distribution of the great man's plate (p. 101) and there is no reason to doubt that part of his narrative; but when he comes to give an account of the indignities offered to Wallenstein's remains at Vienna he is plainly speaking from hearsay again, and what he says may be disregarded.

With the recapture of Regensburg by the Imperialists we enter again upon a series of events in which Poyntz was an actual participant. Yet even here we have to correct him: the taking of the city by Bernhard of Weimar of course preceded Wallenstein's death by some months, and the story of the horrors there enacted is a pure invention. So too we must check his numbers, when we come to the actual siege: he speaks (p. 102) of a garrison of '20000 souldiers of the Sweves': the real number of the auxiliary troops in the city was 3800. But his account of the repeated attacks upon the fortress are those of an expert: with Merian's birdseye view (in the *Theatrum Europæum*) before us we can trace every movement which he describes: and for once he is not wrong in imputing to Bernhard of Weimar ferocious cruelty in the sack of Landshut (p. 104). His narrative of the attempted relief of that town is a genuine piece of first hand history: unfortunately he has not given us any account of the way in which Aldringer, his leader,

<sup>1</sup> Förster. *Wallenstein*. p. 379n.



met with his death—an incident of which, as of so many others in this war, there are divergent accounts.

The passage which follows (pp. 105-107) professes to give an account of the 'Duke of Bavaria's' character and politics. It almost defies interpretation. The only probable solution of the puzzle is that Poyntz, referring to his treacherous 'notes,' has confused the Elector Maximilian with some other potentate—apparently a Protestant—for he is a member of the 'Union'—and one is almost tempted to believe that it is the Elector of Brandenburg who is spoken of. The story of his inviting Gustavus into Germany, then refusing to help him, and then being punished by having Swedish troops quartered in his territories, might very well be a soldier's version of the experiences of the cowardly George William. But then we are met with the mention of the Duke's 'deare Miniken' and his flight 'to the mountaynes' (p. 105). There is neither 'Miniken' nor a 'mountayne' in Brandenburg. Coupling this with a previous mention of the 'neutrality' of Bavaria (p. 101) we are forced to conclude that there is hopeless confusion in the passage, and that Poyntz was not an exact historian.

But a soldier he undoubtedly was: and we find him at his best in his story of the battle of 'Norling' (Nördlingen). He only knows his own part of the engagement: very possibly he exaggerated his own share in the fighting: but his description is vivid enough. The plan of the battle is simple. Nördlingen was beleaguered by the Imperialists. Bernhard had succeeded (p. 108) in throwing supplies into the town, and he had occupied the long hill or range of hills called the Arnsberg to the south of the city, about two miles distant. Between him and Nördlingen lay a lower range of hills which were held by the besiegers. Bernhard had with him Gustavus Horn, who wished to wait for the arrival of the Rheingrave Otto Lewis, who was bringing up reinforcements,

before engaging. It is generally said that the Swedes simply seized and occupied the Arnsberg in the dusk of evening (Sept. 5 1634). Poyntz gives (p. 109) a somewhat different account. Bernhard overruled the advice of Horn and attempted to carry by a night attack the lower hills, which the Spaniards serving with the Imperialists had strongly entrenched. It is here that Poyntz appears upon the scene: he with 'Captain Burke' (p. 109) discovered this nocturnal manœuvre and reported it to head quarters. In the actual battle he was evidently on the Imperialist right, where the Duke of Lorraine was in nominal command, but he reports with considerable detail Gustavus Horn's capture of a 'skonce' on the left wing and subsequent abandonment of it. The Swedes' retreat is generally said to have been caused by an explosion of powder. Such explosions occur with irritating regularity, as an excuse for defeat, in every battle of the Thirty Years' War. Poyntz says nothing of this one, and it was probably, if it happened at all, an insignificant affair. He was himself in another part of the field, where he saw Bernhard pour his troops in vain into the deadly ravine: 'I could hear hym sweare' he says (p. 111): but he swore in vain: he furnished yet another instance of the old truth 'that a man may have too many men as well as too few'; and it was his fugitive troopers that disturbed Gustavus Horn's orderly retirement from the Arnsberg, and turned a retreat into a rout. Poyntz must of course deal out poetic justice: Horn being a prisoner and Bernhard fled, he drowns the third accomplice, the Rheingrave, in the Rhine (p. 113); whereas Otto Lewis, though he did have to swim a river in so doing, escaped, and lived to fight again, though not for long.

The account of Gallas's campaign on the Neckar and Rhine (pp. 116 sqq.) calls for little remark. The warlike operations are recounted with accuracy, and we may fairly assume that Poyntz

was present at most of them : only in respect of names does his memory betray him. 'Coronell Huncks' was not commandant at Heidelberg, which was under the charge of Abel Moda, a Swede. We may note also the unpleasant story of the attack upon the disarmed 'Smithburg' (Schmidtberg, best known for his brave defence of Philippsburg a few months before) after the surrender of Mannheim. But the account of the capture of the Swedish force at Frankfort (p. 118), accurate as it is in detail, gives a double instance of Poyntz's faulty memory : for the Imperialist commander was not the 'Marquesse de Grande' (by which name we are apparently to understand that Carretto, Marchese di Grana, is meant) but General Lamboy : and the Swedish troops were led not by Knipphausen but by an officer of repute named Vitzthum.

On the other hand the story of the two starving armies facing one another at Metz and Dieuze is in full accordance with the facts of known history, and the account of the worthless Gallas's excuses for his inaction seems to be (p. 121) somewhat more than a mere recital of gossip. But at this point it is pretty evident, though he does not himself say so, that Poyntz left the Imperial army : he was not a man to endure starvation at Metz or elsewhere. Gallas's retreat to Landau and John de Werth's proceedings in the diocese of Liège (pp. 121-122) are events belonging to the Spring of 1636, in which year Poyntz professes to be writing. The relief of Hanau, which he describes fairly accurately, took place as late as the end of June of that year. He is either recounting these events from hearsay (in which case hearsay did not play him so false as usual) or else he wrote very late in the year 1636 : i. e. according to the reckoning of the times, up to March 24, 1637. This latter alternative is rendered almost certain by his own statement (p. 123) that he met William of Hesse in Holland 'in October last' : for the landgrave was not there in 1635.

We come now to what is from the personal point of view far the most interesting part of the book—Poyntz's account of his own ways and works. His remark that 'I did not thinke my memory would have carried me so farre' is pathetic, considering the tissue of inaccuracies which make up so much of his *Relation*. Almost in the same breath he proceeds to shew the value of his 'memory' by crowding the three 'greatest set Battailes' of the war (p. 124) into a space of a year and a half. Now, Breitenfeld was fought in September 1631 and Nördlingen in September 1634. Again, we have to note the prevalence of a mercenary spirit in a good deal of what follows. Poyntz's lamentation for the horse he had stolen (p. 125) and which was in turn stolen from him, is amusing: 'hee would have given mee an hundred pound if some other had had hym.' His estimate of his two first wives is that the one was (p. 125) 'of an humble condition and very housewifly' and therefore a good woman. The second 'had great kindred that lay upon us' and is consequently accounted somewhat of a jade. That he<sup>1</sup> exploited the very considerable opportunities of an officer of the time we cannot doubt: indeed he says so himself (p. 126). The pay of a Swedish colonel of infantry was 2000 thalers a year—say at least £1200 of our money; and the Imperialist officers were far more highly paid. A colonel of a cavalry<sup>2</sup> regiment (of at least seven companies) received the equivalent of £500 a month, out of which however he was expected to provide for his troops everything but their money-pay. There were besides many allowances and perquisites.

<sup>1</sup> Harte's estimate of the pay of an officer is (vol. i, p. 16) based on the money values of his own time. Freytag's (*Bilder aus der Deutschen Vergangenheit*, iii) calculations are on the sounder basis of the comparative price of corn, and are here taken as authoritative.

<sup>2</sup> Winter, *Dreissigjühr : Krieg*, pp. 290, 359 gives facsimiles of two 'ordinances', one of Gustavus Adolphus (1632), and one of Ferdinand III (1639), regulating pay and perquisites.

Poyntz's attachment to his friend 'Count' Butler is very touching: for Butler's was not by all accounts a very attractive personality. He was but a poor soldier, and had it not been first for Wallenstein's capricious favour, and afterwards for his own extremely cautious share in that general's death, he would probably never have risen high in the Emperor's service. He survived his treachery but a year, and died at Schorndorf, which he had recently captured from Taupadel, and of which by the way Poyntz has already forgotten the name. He implies (p. 128) that Butler was governor of 'Michelburg' (Mecklenburg) which he certainly was not; he may have been temporarily in command in the Eastern part of the duchy of Würtemberg, overrun by the Imperialists after Nördlingen. But this slight indication enables us to decide—what has puzzled his biographers much<sup>1</sup>—the question of Poyntz's wives. He married, says Aubrey<sup>2</sup>, 'Anne Eleanora de Court Stephanus de Cary in Würtemberg'—a name as remarkable as his presentation of Poyntz himself as 'Sir Denham.' Where Aubrey got his information from he does not say; but this was evidently the second wife—the one with 'great kindred that lay upon us.' The third was the lady who in her letter to Parliament of July 9, 1645, signs herself 'Elizabeth Poyntz' and describes herself as coming 'a wife and a gentlewoman into the Kingdom.'

In spite of somewhat mixed chronology (e. g. it is hardly likely that Poyntz married his second wife before the battle of Lützen) we can make out a tolerably intelligible account of this second match. Butler used his authority as governor of Schorndorf to induce the Würtemberg heiress to marry his friend: her estates must have been in the South of the country—Poyntz himself puts them (p. 128) two or three leagues from Schorndorf; and it is quite

<sup>1</sup> Maclean, *Poyntz Family*, p. 175, who writes 'Count Stephanus de Cary.'

<sup>2</sup> *History of Surrey* iv, p. 212-213.

possible that straggling French troopers from Italy (p.128) may have made their way through Switzerland and done mischief in Swabia on their way to Alsace and France.

The old captain of dragoons, who has chronicled sack and rapine thus far with some complacency, now finds his account. 'This went nere me' he says speaking of the utter devastation of his home with 'some poore people got into the ruines living with rootes'—only too true a picture, as all students of the history of the terrible war will recognise. And presently thereafter (pp. 124-129) we have the most natural touch of description imaginable. Poyntz compares Germany as he knew it first, a young soldier of twenty, and saw it fair, fat and flourishing, and as he left it after the so-called peace of Prague in 1636. Yet what he had seen so far in the way of devastation was but child's play compared to the organised raids of the Wrangels and Königsmarcks during the next ten years. He had left the fair Empire an exhausted body; after the peace of Westphalia he would have found it a skeleton. That he did go back, as he announces his intention of doing (p. 133), is pretty certain, though we have no account of his career until he appears as a general in the service of the Parliament in England. His boast that he was 'knighted by the Emperor on the field of battle' is probably an exaggerative statement. Ferdinand II, though (p. 134) 'there is made for hym a Buffe Dubblet such as souldiers weare which certainly will bee a great encouragement unto the whole army'—was never present at any engagement during the war; and if the King of Hungary (afterwards Ferdinand III) had conferred any mark of distinction on Poyntz after the battle of Nördlingen it is unlikely that he would have forgotten to mention the fact in his *Relation*.

And so 'with a Longum Vale to my Country and a Longum Viue to my Sovereigne Lord and King King Charles' ends the

record of Sydenham Poyntz. He has written down his own character in pretty plain words—a soldier of fortune neither of the very worst nor perhaps of the very best type—certainly hardly in his early history deserving of the commendation bestowed on him in respect of his later career: ‘His views in entering upon this war were purely patriotic, and he was never known to be influenced by covetousness or ambition when he had frequent opportunity of gratifying those passions’.<sup>1</sup>

At the end of the Poyntz MS. we have a separate tract in his handwriting called ‘*A Relation of the Death of Wallenstein from Vienna the 8 Feb., 1634*’. Even in the title Poyntz’s incorrigible inaccuracy reappears. For Wallenstein was not murdered till the twenty-fifth of February.

What the value of the tract is it is difficult to say—probably not great: it seems to contain little beyond the rumours which might be current in the streets of Vienna: even the Emperor’s ‘buff doublet’ may be assigned to that category. The writer seems to pretend to some special knowledge of Wallenstein’s court, and whether hearsay or not, some of the particulars which he gives are deeply interesting, and throw a new light on the Duke’s character. The document also gives Leslie’s own version of the assassination; but this is certainly at second hand: (p. 224) ‘this relation cometh from one who had it from Lesley’s own mouth.’ According to Hallwich’s unfriendly sketch of Leslie in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* he had on his arrival at Vienna imparted ‘to a venal scribe’ his account of the murder. Hallwich does not mention the pamphlet or tract to which he alludes; but this is assuredly not it, for the ‘venal scribe,’ though he mentions Leslie’s alleged convers-

<sup>1</sup> Grainger, quoted by Maclean, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 18, p. 437. He also according to Ranke (*Wallenstein*, p. 308 n.) told his story to the Tuscan ambassador.

ation with Wallenstein on the road to Eger, gives an entirely different account of it from what we have here. This is indeed the most absurd part of the narrative: that the grim and silent duke should have poured his confidences into the ear of the young subaltern of six or eight and twenty who rode beside his litter and whom apparently he had never seen before is simply incredible. All contemporary historians assert it: but the talkative Leslie is plainly the one source of the story. For the rest the whole history is so set forth as to put Butler and Gordon altogether into the background and to attribute to Leslie the bad eminence of chief assassin. If Hallwich be right in his facts, he has every claim to the name. He went to Eger with the deliberate intention of playing the traitor: he had not been there more than a few hours before he was in secret correspondence with Piccolomini: he boasts himself (p. 132) of having opened a letter addressed to Wallenstein: he claims that it was he who invited the generals to the fatal supper: he gave the signal for their murder; and it was he who hurried down into the town to secure the allegiance of the garrison. Nor was he slow in demanding his payment. Getting first to Vienna in Carretto's or Piccolomini's carriage, he posed as the chief assassin: demanded and received the profitable command of a regiment, and finally, on the ground that his ancestors had been 'counts' for the last six hundred years, was ennobled. The last we are told of him here is that the 'gallant young man about 25 yeares of age' who was brought up a Calvinist (p. 134) 'and hath so lived hitherto' is preparing to be 'converted.' And so we leave him. To add a word to the interminable 'Wallenstein-literature' would be unpardonable.

That Poyntz wrote the tract himself is of course outside all probability: it differs from his own narrative in a score of points. Most likely he has copied out or translated one of the numberless



accounts of the Duke of Friedland's death, which appeared in wellnigh every European language, that happened to attract his attention.

Poyntz's handwriting and spelling are for a soldier of the time remarkably good—the former even elegant: but that he could when under the influence of strong excitement forget both to spell and write correctly is evident from his hasty letter to Lent-hall written after his seizure by the mutineers at Pontefract, and preserved among the Tanner MSS (vol. LVIII, 366) in the Bodleian Library. It should be noted however that two letters published by Sir John Maclean in his *Memoirs of the Poyntz Family* (pp. 174, 175) which are distinguished by their eccentricity of spelling—one being a version of the letter above mentioned—are not originals at all. Maclean prefaces them with the words 'Hence followed the outrageous violence described in the following remarkable letters printed from the original holographs preserved amongst the Tanner MSS in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.' As a matter of fact hardly a line of the letters agrees with the Tanner MS; and the mystery is solved by a courteous communication from the Rev. Newdigate Poyntz of Shrewsbury, who informs the Editor that he lent to Sir John Maclean the letters in question, which are only copies of the originals, the subscriptions, which are genuine, having been cut off from some other letters and gummed on, and the body of the documents being in a lady's handwriting of some century back. The extraordinary spelling is precisely what might be expected under the circumstances, but it is certainly not Sydenham Poyntz's.

Our author's reproduction of German proper names taxes the ingenuity of the interpreter. It is plain that he never consulted a map: he wrote down the names as he heard them pronounced, and the result is sometimes interesting and sometimes completely

baffling. 'Pryzon' for Prussia (Preussen), 'Sprighter' for 'Speereuter' and 'Tiring' for 'Thüringen' are simply pretty puzzles: we may add 'Stif-breames' for 'Stift Bremen,' 'Keeping' for 'Göppingen' and 'Servist' for 'Zerbst.' An extension of such indulgence will enable us to discover in 'Elses Chabur' or even 'Eleschamber,' the name of 'Elsass-Zabern' and to find in 'Kirkenundre' the mutilated name of 'Kirchheim unter (Teck).' But when Poyntz refers to his 'notes' he fairly puzzles us: he could write vilely at times, as we have already remarked, and plainly he could not read his own writing. In no other way can we explain 'Haygleberg' for 'Havelberg;,' 'Treaso' for 'Dessau;,' 'Solmits' for 'Olmütz' and (possibly) Recant for Rogätz. Names of places are sooner or later to be made out; but names of persons, unless they be well known persons, may remain altogether disguised. 'Showtcoats' unless he had been a prominent officer could hardly be identified as Schafgotsch. 'Starschedel' is almost unrecognizable under the name of 'Doorestetle,' if indeed it be the same person at all.<sup>1</sup> To conclude, these phonetic traductions are not without philological interest as throwing some light on the pronunciation of the English vowels less than twenty years after Shakespeare's death.

The document from which the "Relation" is now edited is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Fonds Anglais 55), where it was discovered and first transcribed by Dr. Maurice Ettinghausen of Munich, formerly of Queen's College, Oxford. It is a beautifully written paper MS. of seventy folios, and is certainly, as appears from a comparison with the letters in the Tanner MSS. at Oxford, in Poyntz's handwriting. It has been bound, but is only seriously cut down in one place, at the foot of folio 16b. The extreme care with which it is written

<sup>1</sup> It is also written Storschedel.

appears from the fact that in nearly all cases of proper names occurring for the first time the author has written them in slightly larger letters, thus giving no room to doubt of his own very eccentric phonetic versions. The variety of these is sometimes extraordinary. We have for "Sweden" successively "Sweueland" "Swethland" "Swede" "Swedeland" "Sweue" and "Swevia"; for "Regensburg" we have "Reynsburg", "Reinsberg", "Reynesburg", "Reinsburg" "Reinspurb" (!) and of course "Ratisbone"—all clearly and unmistakeably written. Such variations give us some index to the curiously inaccurate habit of mind which makes the "Relation" in places a mere travesty of history.

Our best thanks are due to the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale for their ready courtesy in permitting the transfer of the MS. to the British Museum and its deposit there for collation, as well as to the latter institution for the facilities kindly given for this purpose, and to the Foreign Office through whose official mediation these arrangements were carried out. To Falconer Madan Esq., of the Bodleian Library, we are also indebted for photographs of a letter in the Tanner Collection, which were necessary for comparison with the handwriting of the "Relation."

# A TRUE RELATION

OF THESE GERMAN WARRES FROM MANSFIELD'S  
GOING OUT OF ENGLAND WHICH WAS  
IN THE YEARE (1624) UNTILL THIS LAST  
YEARE 1636 WHEREOF MY SELF WAS  
AN EYWITNESSE OF MOST I HAVE  
HERE RELATED AS FOLLOWETH.  
*BY MEE SYDNAM POYNES.*

After 16 or 17 yeares absence from my Country ; at last by Gods favour comming hither againe, this present yeare 1636, where desired by many of my frends, to set downe in writing, what I had told them in familiar discourse, which seemed pleasing to them : And it beeing a thing not altogether impossible to mee, having formerly made to myself some particular notes in writing, of thinges of most importance which happened in this my (as I may tearm it) Peregrination from my native Country : and so for the better continuation of this my History, I am forced to begin from my first departure out of England, which was as followeth.

It is well knowne to most, how nere youth and rashness are of affinitie, which I may instance in my self, for having no sooner attayned to 16 yeares of age, but I began to harbour these coniectures in my self. To bee bound an Apprentice that life I deemed little better then a dogs life and base. At last I resolved with my self thus : to live and dy a souldier would bee as noble in death as Life, which resolution tooke such strong root in mee, that not long after I took my way to Dover, thence to Calice, to Graveling, to f. 1b. Dunkerke, to Newport, to Ostende, to Brudges, to Gaunt, to Antwerp, to Dermont,<sup>1</sup> there my necessitie forced mee, my Money beeing growne short, to take the meanes of a private souldier in my L. Vaux his Regiment under Captayne Reysby, and so presently wee marched to Berghen upon Zome where the Marquis Spinola had layd before it certayne dayes where my fortune was to bee taken Prisoner by Cap<sup>a</sup> Sidnam his souldiers. But having understood that Captaine Sidnam was my Godfather, I made my self knowne unto hym : hee like a noble Gentleman gave mee a new suite of apparell if I would stay with hym or goe for my

<sup>1</sup> Termonde.

Country againe, and Money in my purse but I meant to try further. My Lord of Essex coming with his Regiment, in my way, of English souldiers, I tooke meanes under Captaine Bailly.<sup>1</sup> Within a short tyme wee marched to Gitterenberg,<sup>2</sup> where we lay a whole yeare, untill that tyme that Spinola besieged Breda. This called us away to the Leager lying at Longron,<sup>3</sup> thence to Breda to assist the besieged and pitched our Leager not farre from Trehan,<sup>4</sup> some Leagues distant from thence, where must be resolved on some speedy course and that not without great danger and valour could bee donne otherwise the besieged could hold out no longer : most nations, as french, and Dutch, refused the enterprise but they said they would second us : where upon our English bravely resolved thereon. And the Earle of Oxford with 2000 musquetiers 500 firelocks and 50 with handgranadoes of which I was one, marched towards Breda upon a narrow bancke along the River side which

f. 2. leadeth to the Towne at the end of which bancke stood Skonces behinde Skonces with Canons upon them to skoure and cleanse all that should venture to passe that way, yet notwithstanding our English bravely ventured upon that dangerous passe, and fiercely in the darke night charged and assailed the ennemies skonces, tooke in two of them, and having placed our Colours upon the third : the enemy charged us so fiercely, and those that promised us to second us, as the french and the Dutche never came but left us to our selves like Cowards, wee were forced to retreat, which although we did in as good order as wee could ; yet this retreat was very sharpe unto us, for wee lost more therein then in the assault, because the passage backe was narrow and the Skonces playing upon our backs cut us of very thicke, many by the heads, but most by the middle, where it was my fortune to escape with life, but to bee hurt on the right side with a pike. This basenesse of the Hollanders in not seconding us, Oxford took in such distast that hee would often sweare, whereas before hee had bene a frend to them hereafter hee would bee their utter ennemy : at our retreat to the Army the wounded were left at Gitterinberg.

Now Winter did salute us, every Regiment was sent to his Garrison. I being cured, desired my Captaine to give mee leave to travell further, who yielded to my request, and gave mee a discharge, and away I went to Amsterdam where I found some of

<sup>1</sup> Probably William Baillie 'colonel of Dutch' and afterwards Lieutenant-General in Scotland. Monro spells him as here 'Baily'.

<sup>2</sup> Gertruydenberg.

<sup>3</sup> Dongen. *Theatrum Europæum*, i, 837.

<sup>4</sup> Dieren.

Mansfields souldiers under S<sup>r</sup> James Lasly<sup>1</sup> who had two or 3 Regiments, under whome I tooke pay and so to Germany, whither it seemes Mansfield had formerly determined with Saxon Weymar,<sup>2</sup> who was raysing an Army and both to meet with f. 2 b. Bethlehem Gabor who had solicited the Turke and all to ioyn together against the Emperour, but Mansfields plot did not succeed as hee coniectured, but all went otherwise then hee imagined as afterward shall bee showed.

And now again to our long journey. Lying not long at Amsterdam wee were summoned by sound of Drum to ship-bord whence wee sayled towards the place called the Stif-breames in ( <sup>3</sup> ) where we landed our men, and there wee met with many Regiments, which came from other Princes and Dukes, and so as wee marched, our Army encreased still untill they came to 30000. Our first march was to Saltz-weedle, to Oysterbank, <sup>4</sup> to Sendle <sup>5</sup> in the old Marke, so to Tangerinde, <sup>6</sup> thence to Recant <sup>7</sup> Castle which wee tooke having 200 musquetiers therein, and pillaged it. Our next dayes march was vi Leagues nere Treaso <sup>8</sup> where wee entrenched our Army. Whereof Tilly having notice approached towards us with his forces, who was nere 30000 strong of Infanterie and Cavallery: and having charged each other bravely, wee were beaten together with the losse of our Canon and baggage, many slayne and many taken Prisoners with Coronell Kniphousen, wee beeing brought to this streight and most of our soldiers that were unkilld and taken Prisoners, were dispersed and so our hopes almost frustrated. And the King of Denmarke who had promised to furnish us and assist us with men and other provision failed us: yet nere old Brandeburg eleven Leagues from Treaso our Army that was dispersed by the late overthrow came together and so to Haygleberg: <sup>9</sup> where Duke Weymar met us f. 3. with 8000: wee tooke our marche to frankford on the Odor. But the Townsmen hearing of our approachment met us two Leagues out of the Towne and were content to let Mansfield and his souldiers passe through the Towne, if hee would promise they

<sup>1</sup> A mistake probably for Sir John Leslie 'Lieutenant Colonel of Sir John Ruthven's Regiment of Dutch'. Grant *Memoirs of Hepburn* p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> John Ernest the younger. See Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> A lacuna without reason. 'Stift Bremen' is meant.

<sup>4</sup> Osterburg.

<sup>5</sup> Stendal.

<sup>6</sup> Tangermünde.

<sup>7</sup> Rogätz. See Introduction.

<sup>8</sup> Dessau.

<sup>9</sup> Havelberg.

should not pillage as they passed, or offer violence as they passed thorough, and so the gates were set open and wee passed in quiet towards Crassen.<sup>1</sup> Thence in 8 dayes wee marched to Brusloe<sup>2</sup> beeing the head-Cittie in Silesia and so to Podulo<sup>3</sup> 5 Leagues; to Darnise<sup>4</sup> 6 Leagues, to Troppo, there wee remayned two dayes and there wee left our Canons, and there our Pikemen were made Dragoniers, thence to Tessona<sup>5</sup> in the Wallaky: thence some 18 Leagues to Solmits<sup>6</sup> the chief Towne in Moravia and so towards Whitsecar<sup>7</sup> where lay a Garrison of 500 musquetiers of the Emperours souldiers. Mansfield knowing this comāunded 3000 musquetiers to bee put in Wagons 300 horse marching before them and 200 behinde them; and so approaching nere the Towne, the Musquetiers were comāunded to light from out the Wagons and to march and about 3 or 4 of the clock in the morning wee were within a Quarter of a miles march of the Towne. The musquetiers marched forward in Battalia. 200 of the 300 horse with 20 musquetiers were commaunded to assaile that part of the Towne which was thought to bee strongest and without a good guard, and there to make a blinde Alarme. the Ennemy ran and resisted

f. 3 b. them. But our General Tarbychan<sup>8</sup> assaulted the Towne in an other place, where though wee were repulsed the first tyme, yet the second tyme wee entred killing man, Woman and child: the execution continued the space of two howers, the pillageing two dayes.

The next day wee marched to a place called Pacaloco<sup>9</sup> there wee met with Bethlehem Gabor his Army of 30000: And the Turkes Army of 50000 with ours ioyned together made it was thought a hundred thousand. The Emperour hearing of this and terrified therewith after much secret doings among them made a Peace for two yeares with the turke and Bethleem Gabor, giving them what they desired. Gabor chalenged two Townes in Transylvania with other Priviledges: the Turke had money which hee said was behinde in Tribute but the Emperour made shift to pay it, and so out of this private peace Mansfield and Duke Weymar were excluded and not once mentioned therein. Mans-

<sup>1</sup> Crossen.

<sup>2</sup> Breslau.

<sup>3</sup> ? Popelau near Oppeln, or even Oppeln itself.

<sup>4</sup> Tarnowitz.

<sup>5</sup> Teachen. See Introduction.

<sup>6</sup> Olmütz.

<sup>7</sup> Probably Weisskirchen.

<sup>8</sup> ? Sandilands of Torphichen: see Introduction.

<sup>9</sup> ? Malaczka.

field and Weymar seeing themselves brought to this streight, and deceived by them in whome and on whome lay all their confidence and had taken so long a journey to them, put all their Wits a worke, hee sent in hast to Troppo<sup>1</sup> and Jeadendorf,<sup>2</sup> two of the chief Townes in Silesia for certaine Regiments which hee had left therein for the strengthening these two Townes kept all the rest in Obedience, and raising there new Regiments for the strengthening his Army and therewithall coyned mony with his owne stamp whereof the Emperour hearing caused Walleston to f. 4. prosecute hym with an Army of 40000 who came to this Towne, but Mansfield was gonne to the Arny, and therefore Walleston thought better to follow hym, but yet leaving some Regiments behind hym, which did keep all passages that the besieged should have no relief come to them and afterwards tooke in the said Townes etc.

Mansfield having intelligence that Walleston made after hym, not daring to repose any confidence in his owne forces, beeing of small number posted to the Turkes' Basha of Buda bemoaning his case, and that hee had come so farre into Germany with an Army beeing confident of the Turks ayd against the Emperour. But Peace it seemed was made privately betwixt them, and hee and Duke Weymar excluded. So that now beeing thus left alone they were not able to stand against the Emperour, and that Walleston pursued him, and therefore besought hym that hee would not see them utterly ruined but to let him have 6000 Janissaries who should but stand by, whose presences would at least quaille Wallestons heat, and that they should not bee in any danger, but when they came, Mansfield put them in the fore-ranks. Will they, nill they, and to bee those that must endure the first brunt, whereat the Janissaries themselves were discontent, but no remedy, and whereat the Basha himself was angry, which Mansfield hymself afterwards<sup>3</sup> f. 4 b. felt. But to our History. Walleston pursued Mansfield, but hee flying from hym came to Levens<sup>4</sup> where not farre from thence wee pitched our Leaguer. The Emperour had souldiers therein. Walleston marched after us with all speed; but wee shrinked from hym still and marched to Polamia 3 Leagues and thence to Novi-grade a great Castle on the top of a hill but ruined by the Turkes,

<sup>1</sup> Troppau.

<sup>2</sup> Jägerndorf.

<sup>3</sup> It is the Pasha of Belgrade who is afterwards accused of assassinating Mansfeld.

<sup>4</sup> Levenez or Levencz in the county of Bars. Polamia, afterwards called Polava, cannot be identified. It was somewhere between Levencz and Novigrad.



hitherto Walleston followed us and that so nere that sharp skirmishes were betwixt our Cavallerie and Wallestons. But Walleston seeing the Turkish Janissaries in Mansfields forefront conceived that Mansfield was gotten under the Turkes protection, caused his Army to retreat not daring to passe any further then Novigrade least hee should breake the Peace lately concluded. So Mansfield having got rid of Walleston, the Turkish Janissaries who came to bee our defense from Walleston, and to bee as it were our Convoy marched from Us, but did us most harme, for they catched up our souldiers for Slaves, if they did but straggle from their Troops but never so little : not long after Duke Saxon Weymar with his Lieutenant, they say dyed for grief to see the evill successe of their journey beeing so long and tedious, and knowing not what to doe nor what would become of them. Mansfield did bestirre his Wits

- f. 5. how hee also might get to Venice where they said hee had a great stocke of money, and thither hee could not get without great danger, nor without the Turkes Passe, for hee must goe through all the Turkes Country. And so he marched to Belgrada with all the hast hee could ; and with most of his Army hee had left which was but small whereof I was an unfortunate one. This Belgrada is the uttermost Towne the Turke hath in Hungary. Beeing come thither the Basha entertayned hym very royally. There hee made great meanes for his passe for hymself and his followers through his Country to Venice, and to move the Basha the more to it hee would presently give hym 8 Canons with horses and furniture to them belonging, and also bestow on hym fifty french-men who were excellent Ingeniers (who to his eternall shame) should teach the Turkes the Christian manner of fight and withall the Christian manner of fortifications : the Turke not beeing so dexterous in nether, which was accepted with great show of thanks, and with all his Passe to Venice : but hee showed hym a Turkish Tricke for the night before hee was to depart, the Basha with his Comaunders invited hym to a Banquet after the Turkish manner upon Carpets on the ground, but the night after his great feast hee found hymself very evill crying out upon his Belly full of gripes, paines and grones hee cast hymself upon a Carpet on the ground and so dyed, it was
- f. 5 b. thought on poyson, but hee beeing dead his little rayned Army was quite dispersed, most of them taken for slaves whereof I was one, who with 6 or 7 others was gonne into a village where they said was very good Hungarian Wine, the name thereof invited us to it, where being taken by a Company of Turkes they brought us backe to Belgrade, where they stripped us of all wee had, Cloathes and all, and shaved our heads and put us into a slavish habit from

thence wee were had to Vicegrade<sup>1</sup> and so to Buda distant 9 Leagues where wee were sold for slaves, one hither and another thither : my maisters name who bought mee was Bully Basha a Lieutenant of a Turkish Troop of horse and also a great Merchant.

You may thinke well in what heaviness and sorrow I was to see my self of a free man to bee made a Slave, and like to continew in it all my life, and to be stripped of all I had gotten in all my long voyage through Germany beeing a thousand Leagues, having nothing from our Generall but what we got by pillage which as the Proverb is lightly come as lightly goes : but what it was I wot well, but now it is gone ; and there was no remedy. And my thoughts night and day was to runne away and get into Christendome and yet I thought it impossible because my slavish habit would discry mee. Beeing thus a Captive and Slave, the first thing I was put to, was to fetch and carry wood, then to keep the Kine, after that to manure the Vineyards : in processe of tyme having got a smacke of language I was put to sell Water up and downe the Towne every day and night bringing in the money to my maister which Water I f. 6. carried upon a horse in leather bags on either side the horse one.

Before I had lived a whole yeare in this Slavery, a disease came among us in the house whereof my maister dyed, and others, which ministered to mee (as I thought) good opportunity to get away, and so earely one morning I let my self downe by a hay-rope, which I carried hay withall from above tyed fast, and tooke my way to old Buda, a League distant from Budin where my maister lived, and swimmmed over Danubius the River on that side Pesta lyeth, and so I tooke my next way towards Hongary, and thence up to Novigrade : but fortune did but smile a little while upon mee, for at a Towne called Egre<sup>2</sup> there met mee a party of Turkes who were sent as skoutes to watch the Ennemyes Army, some of them presently knew mee, and seised upon mee, then tying a double bag full of filth, earth, and stones having thrust my head thorough the middle tyed it with a fast knot, and so drave mee before them to new Buda where they delivered mee to my maisters sonne, who gave me 300 blowes upon the soles of my feet after this hee caused weightier stones to bee put on my legs then before, and kept mee close untill I was recovered. Then I was brought to Bosna where I was sold for 125 crownes unto one Deruise<sup>3</sup> Basha a Bashaw and a great merchant. Here I was at the first reasonably entertayned by reason of my former maister

<sup>1</sup> Wisgrad.

<sup>2</sup> The Hungarian name of Erlau.

<sup>3</sup> Dervish.

- f. 6 b. his comendations who for his profit concealed my running away. I was made groome of my new maisters stable of horses and after employed a Caterer to provide all manner of Victualls for hym and his Concubines. Not long after one of his Concubines seemed to affect mee and would have mee to wayte on her, and among other things to hold a Bason and Ewer with Water when shee went to ease nature, and came from the hot Bathes, and so our familiarity came to bee the greater : but our familiarity was not so secretly carryed but my maisters sonne got notice of it. The story I will tell you. My Maister was an old man but had a wilde young man to his sonne, who many tymes in his drinke would addresse hymself unto mee in an unnaturall manner, which I with detestation reiecting, hee many tymes beating mee I not daring opposition and so hee continued in his vile intention, I resolved to acquaint his father with it, and so I did, saying withall that if his sonne continued those courses, I would bee his death, for which I could have bene punished but with the Bastinado, hee said it was true and warned his sonne to take head and leave those base courses, but in a drunken fit hee fell to the same courses againe. I gave hym a wound over the breast with my knife, such as slaves use to wear like Turkish Simeters, hee runne to his father and complayned, but his father hearing the cause was somewhat more pacified then at the first, and chid his sonne and said no more to mee. But his
- f. 7. sonne remembred the former blow, sought all opportunity to bee revenged. And on a tyme when I was holding her water and merry in words with her, hee came in and swore wee should dy both, and withall promising that if I would let hym have his pleasure on mee he would say nothing, but I refusing fell to cuffes I threw hym to the ground giving hym many wounds in his breast and hands, and shee and I agreed to tell his father first, and that it was because hee could not have his will on mee having offred mee the like violence before. Thus by the furtherance of her loving tongue wee were freed, though hee had complayned against us both, yet not withstanding this bred a jealousy in the old man, so that at the last hee sold mee away to one Joseph Ogga a great merchant in Belgrade gayning 116 Aspers by mee<sup>1</sup> which is ( ). This man I served a yeare and more, till a fellow slave of myne a Dutch man agreed to run away, and so wee did, and had gotten 24 Leagues from Belgrade but a party of Turkes took us and brought us back againe; and wee were both

<sup>1</sup> An 'asper' was but the third of a penny in value: he probably means 'Piastres'.

put into the Gallies. In this drudgery I was a whole yeare untill at last it pleased god to bee a meanes of my delivery for Mustapha Basha governour of all those confining provinces dying, Davisha succeeded hym according to the custome. At his first entrance hee demanded a View of all the Gally-slaves there about, which hee having seene, ransomed mee by reason of my youth, and that I could speake the language and made mee groome of his stable, and this liberty was given mee under hym, that I was well used in comparison of my other maisters. To speake of our faire, and the manner of our maisters living with his concubines, I will referre it to the end,<sup>1</sup> beeing too long to relate here. I longing to bee in Christendome with my liberty, it fell out that the Basha my maister upon some cause was cited to Constantinople. I having heard of it, about the tyme of his going feyned my self sicke, whereupon I was left behinde hym: I was very desirous to see Constantinople, but I was told by one of my fellow-servants that if I went to Constantinople I should bee given to some Courtier, and so loose all hope of escape, after his departure I soone grew well, and having found opportunity beeing well mounted on a Turkish horse which with the rest I used to breath every Evening, that night I rid 6 Leagues to the Cloister called S. Severine, where I was well entertayned thence having a Convoy I came to the Cloyster of St. Augustin: thence to St. Marks formerly a Cloister now a Market-Towne where are two constables the one a Turke, the other a Christian who is bound to entertayne any Christian Pilgrime for one night, and the next morning to convoy hym to the Hongarian confines not farre thence distant: having entred the confines of Hongary I left Egge on the right hand and going towards Novigrade was taken by a party of souldiers and brought mee to their Seneschall beeing an Hongarian borne, who examined mee and find mee halting in my Answere, having as I conceived a good liking to my horse, that I was cast in Prison, where I lay three weeks, at last hee asked mee if I would serve hym, I told hym it was my very great desire, whereupon my liberty was graunted mee and an office and place of Groome appointed mee. I was not long but I found opportunity to fly away. On a Sunday my Maister going to Church, I tooke my owne horse and rode the next way to Polava, thence to Leveney, thence to Presburg, the chief City of Hongary where the Court is kept and the Hongarian Crowne. You may thinke and I felt what Joy I had to have gotten out of the Devills Clawes, but to coole my Joy once againe before

f. 7 b.

f. 8.

<sup>1</sup> An unfulfilled promise.

- I could get to Austria, a party of Heyduks met and stripped mee of that little money I had and my horse and all, then was I cleane deieted, yet glad that I escaped with life : and so in great poverty by many jeeres I got into Austria ; and beeing come within two miles of Vienna where the Emperour lyeth I met with a poore English franciscan fryer whose name was More with a Wallet on his backe full of bread and scraps which hee had begged there
- f. 8 b. abouts for his covent about Vienna, hee had in his company an English factour of Vienna. I beeing poore and very hongry almost starved, begged of them, who beholding my poverty gave mee part of such as hee had in his Wallet, so examining mee I related to him the story of my case and misery, and what country man I was, but I had lost my English tongue yet some words I uttered that hee knew I was that country man, hee had a great feeling of my case and made the merchant give mee some money, and would not part with mee but had mee home to his Convent, where I was put in some fresh though poore cloathes, and some of them came and washed my feet and dryed them, that I was ashamed of my self, and to see such an alteration in my self and such freshnesse and lightsomenes in my body after such a tedious Journey. Not content with this, having knowne my name and condition, after some tyme staying with them they sent a purse about to beg for mee not knowing to mee they got mee a Purse of a 100 Angels, to put mee into cloathing and apparell if that I had a mynde to bee a souldier. But whilest I was there, which was about three weekes, they sounded mee about Religion whether I was not a Turke and had any sparke of Christianity in mee and finding that all was not dead in mee but had kept my prayers alive which I was taught when I was young, thinking that my 6 yeares slavery in
- f. 9. Turkey had quite extinct all feare of God and my Religion : but at length they broke with mee which was the true Religion, which they proved to be no other, than that which comonly is called Papistry and their reasons were so strong ioyned with such wonderfull humility and charity towards mee, that I could not choose but admit of it and follow their advise therein which was to bee made a member of that holy Church and wherein by Gods grace I mean to dy considering it could not bee but donne by Gods speciall grace towards mee leading mee as it were by the hand to it out of my Slavery to come to meet with so holy a company.

In this Interim great newes was of great Warres which was like to bee, for they said the king of Sweveland was or would come into Germany, and all my thoughts enclined from my youth that way as

formerly you have heard. And even then the Duke of Saxony was raising a great Army with his speciall protestation to the Emperour that it was to resist the said kings comming. I hearing this was upon thornes till I put my self among them, and having got mee with these good fathers Charity, so great a liberality which furnished mee at all parts like a souldier de cap a pied with a good horse under mee having taken my leave and the blessing of these good fathers I posted into Saxony and to Drayson<sup>1</sup> where the Duke lay, and comming in good equipage I had soone insinuated my self, and was entertaigned by the Duke with great promises, and was after a while made of his Guard which they call his Life-guard: f. 9 b. and so to the King of Swethland his comming.

### THE CAUSE OF THE KING OF SWEDE HIS COMMING TO GERMANY TO HIS DEATH

It seemes the Princes of Germany had bene long inviting the said king to come to relieve them and bee their Protectour against the Emperour Ferdinando, that now is, upon small occasions of discontent, which was the whole ruine of Germany as shall be showed in his place. And therefore after longe Warres betwixt the King of Polonia and hym, at length peace was made betwixt them, then hee resolved for Germany and came onely with 7000 men : for the Princes promised at his landing that all Princes, Dukes and Lords should bee ready with their forces to assist hym and so with the said 7000 foote and 500 horse hee landed in Pomerania at an obscure Creeke called (                   <sup>2</sup>) where, at his landing hee built a fort Royall. His comming was so little looked for, and especially there, that hee had no resistance at all, for after a while hee marching downe by the River called the Dam, whereon stood some small skonces, all the Imperialists within them ran away and hee tooke them without any resistance : and thence hee marched to Stetin ; the Emperours souldiers hearing of his comming left the Towne and retreated to Walgost. At Stetin the King entrenched hymself. The Duke of Pomerania entertaigned him very royally there. The King lay there a long tyme. The German Princes having notice hee was come, began to draw their forces to geather, not seeming to the Emperour that they would rebelle but

<sup>1</sup> Dresden.

<sup>2</sup> Peenemunde.

that they would resist hym. Then the King broke up his Leaguer and marched over the Dam toward Staregard, whither the Duke of Michelburg <sup>1</sup> (who had bene long banished out of his Land) came from Lubecke a free Towne upon the Sea with 2000 horse, who was the first Prince that ioyned with the King. As for the Duke of Pomerania, hee made but small account of hym, as of a man of little understanding, and could doe but small help. At length the King came to Staregard where hee entrenched hymself and in a short tyme tooke it, with great losse of the Imperialists. Thence hee marched to Griffinghang <sup>2</sup> upon the River of Odor and beleagred it. The Imperialists fled out on the other side, and so hee tooke the towne easily : from thence hee went to Castrin, <sup>3</sup> the Imperialists flying before hym and retiring towards francford upon Odor, besides many other Townes hee tooke in as namely Goarch, <sup>4</sup> Lanspurg, <sup>5</sup> Rustock, Gripswald etc.

f. 10 b. At length hee came to francford upon the Odor, and besieged it, one of the principall strong Townes that lyes upon that River wherein lay 3000 Imperialists but the King beeing nere 20000 strong; and all the Gentry and Cavalieroes of Michelburg, Holsten and Pomerania every one bringing aide, and hee keeping good comāund got the good will of the Country that they adored hym where-soever hee came like a God come from heaven, and besieged it, where lying not aboue the space of 8 dayes, hee began to assault the Towne, the breach beeing made at the first assault entred at 3 breaches. The Imperialists retyred unto a Skonce on the Bridge where was slayne in the Towne Coronell Sparke <sup>6</sup> and many brave Souldiers more, besides those that were taken Prisoners, Coronell Butler, &c. So that of all those 3000 men, came of some 200. Where the King lay some 3 or 4 dayes and left a garrison there, and came with his army towards Newmarke and Barlin, the principall City of the marquis of Brandenburg.

Then came Gustaus Horne, out of the Land of Prizon, <sup>7</sup> with 6000 fresh souldiers, having under his Comāund the Regiment of old Sr. James Ramsey <sup>8</sup> a Scottish man, and young Walleston, <sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mecklenburg.

<sup>2</sup> Greiffenhagen.

<sup>3</sup> Custrin.

<sup>4</sup> Garz.

<sup>5</sup> Landsberg on the Wartha.

<sup>6</sup> Sparre. He was not killed, but made prisoner.

<sup>7</sup> Preussen (Prussia).

<sup>8</sup> Afterwards commandant of Hanau.

<sup>9</sup> There seem to have been two Wallensteins in the Swedish service. cf. the list of regiments in Droysen. *Gustaf Adolf* 2, p. 464 note.

and many more which I cannot name beeing all old brave beaten souldiers.

In the meane tyme the Duke of Saxony, and the marquis of Brandeburg hauing taken vp two great Armies, not declaring themselves as yet Ennemies to the Emperour, sending private Letters to the King of Sweueland, that when hee approached forward they would bee ready to aide hym: But the Duke of Saxony with other Princes holding a parly at Lypswicke, whereof the Emp<sup>r</sup>. hauing notice, began to suspect their rebellion, and sent General Tilly who lay at Magdeburg to approach nere to Saxons Country, to ly nere vpon his backe, & if hee found hym to bee in rebellion to fall vpon hym: the Duke seeing this began himself, and fell vpon 2 Regiments of Tyllies horse and cut them of, and tooke many of them Prisoners. With that Tilly fell into his<sup>1</sup> f. 11. Country, and pillaged it and burned as hee went and tooke in the Towne of Mersburg, and pillaged it: from thence hee marched to Lypswicke besieged it, and in one night tooke in the Towne and Castle, wherein they found much riches and gold, pillage[d] the Towne, and tooke the principall Merchants Prisoners and many factours of other nations, and many of them English. But the Duke seeing Tilly to have come so farre into his country sent post to the King of Swedeland to approach with speed, and so hee did, and met with Saxons Army the next day after Tilly had taken in Lypswicke and Ilmburg,<sup>2</sup> and ioyned their Armies together. The next morning the King and the Duke approached with their Armyes toward the Towne; whereof Tilly hauing notice aduanced towards them and there found a faire field 8 or ten English mile broad, and there set his Army. Hee had on his right hand a little Hill whereon stood a Gallows, vpon his left hand a Wood wherein hee had layde an Ambuscado, but it did hym little pleasure: the King and Duke approaching with their forces, the King on the right hand and the Duke on the left, and seeing the Emp<sup>r</sup>s Army so strong whose front was two English miles long, their files being 12 deep and hauing two Reserves that is two fresh Troopes behinde. The King thought hee would make as brave a show drew out his Army as long as Tillies in the front but with 3 deep in file and two Reserves. Tilly wondering at so broad a front of his Ennemies Army, not thinking the King of Sweveland could have posted thither so soone, for Tilly his drift was to have kept the Kings Army and Saxons asunder, but then there was no remedy. In the meane tyme the Duke of Saxony, my m<sup>r</sup>., for I

<sup>1</sup> Harte i, pp. 374-5. Poyntz's chronology is hopelessly confused.

<sup>2</sup> Eilenburg.



- came thither with hym to this field, himself in person armed from head to foot began with his Canon to play upon Tilly, and the like they did to vs, which did last two or three howers wherein was many slayne. But the Duke my m<sup>r</sup> had the better canoniers of the two, and had the better of the other side therein: whereupon the Imperialists approached with their horse, thinking (? it) in Vaine to spend their tyme in shooting, and left their Canon: the horse on both sides encountring, there was a terrible fight a long tyme. The Duke my maister seeing so many fall about hym was amazed, beeing not vsed in person to see such hot play: and of himself very timorous began to retire in tyme, and gave up his comaund to his Generall Arnem, and rid in hast 6 miles of to Ilingburg <sup>1</sup> to a Castle hee had, which did much discourage his Army, to see hym runne as it were from them; for presently after his departure, Tilly though hee was fighting bravely with the King of Sweue for two howers together, sent the best part of his Infantry to charge home the Saxon Troopes, who beeing young Cavalliers and Gallants and who had never seene a battaile fought, and seeing themselves drop, and the bullets fall so thicke, and their Duke gonne, threw away their Armes, and fled, and most that way
- f. 12. which the Duke went: the Imperialists pursuing them with all the might they could, Tilly hymself striuing all hee could to sound a retreat, but hee could not; for they were so hungry after pillage, had put themselves out of order with pillageing the dead Saxons: which disorder the King of Sweveland seeing, followed them in the reare with that Army hee had (for hee had a great losse also) killed and dispersed all that followed the Saxons slaughter, and had the killing of the Imperialists ten or twelve English miles. An other cause of Tilly his overthrow was the riches of his souldiers, especially of his horsemen who were so rich in gold about them, which they had taken the day before at Lypswicke, and seeing it like to be a bloody day, the King of Sweve being come unlooked for, and loth to loose so soon their riches with their lives, many Troops of horse went from hym, even when they were to goe to fight; which is a maxime A rich souldier will never fight well. The Battaille ended and the field lost and night beeing farre in, Tilly retreated with those forces hee had left, which were 6000 to Mansfield, there hee made a stand to refresh them and hymself, for the old man was sore bruised, his Armour being broken with a shot or two into his Body: and thence to Halberstat <sup>2</sup> to geather his dispersed forces together. The losse

<sup>1</sup> Eilenburg again.

<sup>2</sup> Tilly fled to Halle: Pappenheim to Mansfield. Villermont, *Tilly* 2, p. 182; Harte, i, p. 421.

was equall, it was thought on ether side, otherwise the king of Sweue would have followed Tilly and what might hee not have donne even to Vienna it self, having none to oppose hym, and f. 12 b. comming with a conquering Army all would have yielded to hym: for ether hee was weake in strength, or els god almighty blinded hym that hee could not make vse with Hannibal of such a Victory. But hee did but stay a day or two to refresh hymself and his souldiers and take the spoile and sight of the field where the Battle was fought, and so went to the land of Tiring.<sup>1</sup> But before hee went the Duke of Saxony my m<sup>r</sup> came into the field with a more lightsome heart then at the beginning of the battaille hee rid out thereof: and there with great reioycing congratulated with the King for his so good a beginning and good successe that by his valour had turned all about. Where it was argued, which way to take, whether to follow Tilly with both their Armyes; but it seemeth that the Duke of Saxony did not like that, afraid hee was that the King of Swede should grow too great that way [margin: hee was loth the King should come to bee Emperour] and have all the honour and then bee maister of hym and his Country also. And so it was at length agreed Saxon should follow Tilly that way, and that the King should take the contrary way towards Westphalia Bavaria and the Palatinate and so they thought to deuide the world betwixt them, and so they did reasonable well for their tyme, and so they parted: the Duke to his owne Country and Towne of Drayson; but left his Generall Arnem in the field where the Battle was fought expecting such forces as were fled at the first overthrow to draw them to head againe, and to get the spoiles f. 13. of the field which were great for the Imperialists lost all their Canons, their Amunition, 2000 Colours and all their Baggage which was infinite. The Duke before hee went, and as hee went made Proclamation that all such as had fled from their colo<sup>r</sup>s should bee hanged, when in right hee deserved it best, for hee fled hymself first. But finding mee there said, little Englishman (for so hee called mee) you fled to, you deserve to bee hanged, for you runne from your Colours also, but I told his grace that my Colours runne from mee, and then, quoth I, it was tyme for mee to runne also: for hee that carryed them runne away, as the rest did, and threw his Colours away, and I coming after tooke them up, and here they are," and so delivered them to his grace: with that hee praised mee exceedingly but gave mee nothing, but afterwards when hee went into the field from Drayson againe, hee maide me

<sup>1</sup> Thüringen.

- Cap<sup>a</sup> of a Troop of horse. But Arnem his generall hauing got such forces together as hee could that had fled from the field,
- f. 13 b. went first to the Towne of Lypswicke which Tilly the day before the Battle had taken and entrenched hymself and after the third day by accord tooke in the Towne and the Castle, the Commander was Coronell Wangeler<sup>1</sup> to goe out with flying Colours and to be conuoyed to the Borders of Bohemia, leaving his Baggage behinde hym, and all that would, might serve the Saxon, their Canons beeing lost in the field.

- Now to follow the Sweue and leave the Duke of Saxony and his Generall to another tyme more fit for my history, beeing to long to be inserted here. The first march the King made after his Victory was to a Towne called Wertzburg the Lord thereof was a Catholique Bishop. The noyse of the King of Sweuelands comming and his Victoryes had quickly runne all over, not trusting to his Castle though very strong went hymself to Colen, hauing left 2000 Musquetiers in the Castle and Citty with a Commaunder who was but
- f. 14. a raw souldier, but a favorite of the Bishops. Thither the King marched night and day thorough the Land of Franconia till hee came thither, that hee was there before any could imagine. Some fault the Watche did finde but they thought they were but stragglers that came to pillage the Country: but the King comming on with his whole Army in the evening from behinde the Hill approached, and besieged the Towne on one side, and tooke the Bridge in, but the Imperialists seeing the Kings whole Army was there, left the Towne and retired to the Castle and so the King in a fury breaking into the Towne pillaged it, Cloisters and Abbies, committing great disorders, using much<sup>2</sup> tyranny to the Clergie-men, cutting off their members and deflowring of their nunnas: but for all this yet, they had not got the Castle, which beate the houses upon their heads with 7 or 8 Canons, and troubled the Swede much that hee could not bring in more forces over the Bridge, the Castle commaunding<sup>3</sup> the Towne and the Bridge, but the King in the night made two
- f. 14 b. Shadowes<sup>4</sup> on the Bridge, that his Souldiers might passe the safelyer ouer, and the second night approached with his owne Country souldiers the finelanders, and approached within half a Musquet-shot of the outmost Trenches of the Castle which was under the

<sup>1</sup> The name is for once correct. It is sometimes given as 'Wrangel'.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> This is absurd: the King entered from the North-East: the Castle is West of the city.

<sup>4</sup> The word seems inexplicable, but plainly some form of shelter is meant. 'Châteaux' has been suggested as an obscure military term of the period, but such use lacks confirmation.

Shot of the Canon, wherein was 500 musquetiers upon which entrenchment the King set very furiously hymself, with his sword in his hand and his sleeve naked up to the Elbow encouraging his Souldiers, and at length tooke it in, and slew all therein, but with great losse. The Governour of the Castle seeing this sent more ayd out of the Castle into the second entrenchement wherein were a thousand musquetiers before, and so left the Castle very poorely manned, and withall that if they were overmaistred in the Trench they should retyre to the Castle. But the King hauing got the first entrenchment as valiantly assaulted the second entrenchement encouraging his souldiers, that if they did get that entrenchement they would soone get the Castle where was Gold enough, with which hope they fought like Deuills, and supply vpon supply and the King in person. The Imperialists finding themselves overlaid retyred to the Castle, whome the King followed so hard, that they entred pell-mell into the Castle f. 15. with them, killing both man, Woman & Childe. The Comaunder hymself Coronell Kelder<sup>1</sup> was taken Prisoner, the King would haue hanged hym up, that would take upon hym such a charge, having no better skill in martiall affaires to loose such a Castle that was inuincible. But hee fell downe upon his knees, and said, if hee would saue his life, hee would show the king a private vault which no man knew but hymself, wherein lay ten millions of gold, which hee tooke possession of, and sent it with all speed into Sweuia, and none had any share thereof. The private souldiers found such an infinite deale of Wealthe in the Towne, besides the ten millions, that syluer was not esteemed: and syluer plate and guilt boles were trodden under their feet. Rich apparell and ornaments would bee looked upon: the cause of these riches was, in tyme of Troubles the Catholique Gentry and nobility of that Country would send their wealth thither for that Bishopricke was onely Catholique, and the others were ether Lutherans or Caluinists, and besides the Castle was thought invincible and never had in any time bene taken, and the Bishops of that City had for many ages laid vp euery yeare part of their Revenews in the Castle which was<sup>2</sup> of so great an encrease, besides a gold chaine of infinite Valew which by the addition of a f. 12 b. linke by every Bishop every yeare was growne to an extraordinary lengthe, all of which fell into this Kings hands: which wealth made it bee emulated so much, for there wanted not them to spurre the King forward to so great a prize, besides those of the contrary religion had a great tooth against the said Bishop, as well for his wealth, as for that they hated hym extreamely, for hee was wonderfull sharp

<sup>1</sup> Keller.

<sup>2</sup> Some words seem to be omitted: probably '[the cause] of so great an encrease.'

- against any of the contrary religion that came within his cōmaund, and persecuted them euen unto death ; whereof it is said that the Emperour ferdinand tooke notice of, and did somewhat checke hym for his severity in that kinde. No sooner was the Towne and Castle taken but in came some 200 of the Nobility and Gentry there about and fell downe upon their knees before hym to whome the King came out of the Castle beeing all bloody, with his bloody sword in his hand, and his Arme naked beckened to them to stand vp, calling for one of his Commanders to tell them, how that hee was come into their Country not to destroy them, but to put them into their Estates, and the maintenance of their Religion against a Tyrannizing Emperour, and the proud house of Austria, and now hee had begun with a couetous and cruell Bishop: who had cruelly persecuted them, as hee was told by many, and how God had deliuered as it
- f. 16. were miraculously his inuincible Castle, but hee hymself was fled, and therefore hoped they ioyne and assist hym in that hee had so happily begun by raising an Army, and that hee would bee a father to them, and that hee would shed his dearest blood for them and for their sakes. The Nobility and Gentry hearing this, presently cryed out, *God blesse hym*, and that they would venture lives and goods in assisting hym to their uttermost power. And so hee gave them Patents to take up Regiments, but most at their owne charge, having Warrant onely from hym to billet them among the Catholique Boores, and among the Bishops Townes who exacted them soundly. This beeing donne the King marched day and night to bring all in a fright, to the Citty of Swinford, the head Cittie in frankeland: but the Lords of the Cittie hearing of his comming met hym two Leagues from the Cittie, with their keyes in their hands falling on their knees desiring hee would take them into his protection who bid them arise and marched with them to the Citty, the Citizens having strewed their Streets with rushes, and their Streets and houses with hangings receaved hym as one come from heaven. The King having laid there a night broke up and marched to Rodenburg upon the Dover wherein lay a thousand Musquetiers and 500 horse: but before hee came there the horse of the Towne sallyed out and encountred 4 or 5 howers with the Kings avantgard as long as they could, the Towne in the meane tyme fortifying themselves, but the King approaching within Canon-shot pitched his Leguer, and
- f. 16 b. entrenched hymself, but the souldiers bravely sallyed out every howre horse and foot doing great hurt to the Sweuish Army, beating them out of their Trenches, but the Sweves not daunted herewith came nerer and nerer and builded a battery within musquet-shot of the Towne, and there planted 12 Canons and a breach beeing made 3000

musquetiers made the onset, but they like Valient souldiers beat them backe both the second and the 3<sup>d</sup> tyme, having slayne of the Sweues 3000 men, not without great losse of their owne, and their Amunition weake, which discouraged them much. The Commander thereof sounded a parly and began to come to a composition, but during the Treaty which was 3 dayes they made their breach stronger then before, but the King not comming to their desires were as great Ennemies as before, whereupon the King was much wrath and angry and began a new breach, and vowed the death of them all, man, Woman, and child: but the King having shot a new breach bethought hymself, it was better to give them their desires, and let them goe out, then hazard so many men as hee had donne, and should doe, besides the losse of tyme for greater exploits; so hee yielded at length that they should depart with flying colours with bag and baggage &c as they would themselves. And so the Towne was delivered; and what souldiers would serve the Sweue might, and to bee conducted to the Borders of Bavaria where the Emp<sup>re</sup> Army lay from thence the King marched away towards Bavaria: from Rodenburg on the Dowver hee came to Winshen<sup>1</sup> where were certaine companies of the Emp<sup>r</sup>, the first night hee besieged it, hee was beaten of with the losse of many, the next morning, the Governor sounded a Parly, and fell to the King of Sweueland with hymself and 5 Companies of Souldiers: and the King swore hym and gave hym a Patent to take up 5 Companies more and to bee a Coronell & bee billeted in the f. 17. Catholique Countries, and there to receave his Contribution according to his owne exacting. From thence the King marched to Dinkellspeel,<sup>2</sup> where the Lords of the Towne, hearing of his comming sent the chieftest men of the Towne with submission, and the keys, desiring his Ma<sup>ty</sup> to bee mercifull unto them. The King lay in that Towne all night, and his Army without. The Lords of the Towne sent his Army Prouision, as bread wine and flesh.

The Duke of Wertinburg came with his Nobilitie and Gentry, and submitting himself to the King, profering his seruice, with proffer to raise ten thousand men against the Emperour, which the King accepted, but the younge Duke of Wertinburg wayted on his Ma<sup>ty</sup> from thence till hee came to Nerling,<sup>3</sup> where the Lords of Nerling beeing a great free Cittie sent in the like sort the Keys towards hym inviting his Ma<sup>ty</sup> to ly there: and also victualed his Army. But the King having intelligence that Tilly whom hee had formerlie overthrowne had got some new forces

<sup>1</sup> Windsheim. Monro calls it Vintzin.

<sup>2</sup> Dinkelsbühl.

<sup>3</sup> Nördlingen.

f. 17 b. together againe, but not able to bandy with hym, and lay not fare of at Donwart with his Army beeing some fourteene English Miles from thence: the next morning broke up very early and marched with speed towards hym, but coming to Donwart, Tilly was retreated over the River of Danubius, but the Sweden finding hym gonne pitched his Campe before the Cittie of Donwart and lying there a night hee besieged the Towne with great force, but was beaten backe and the next morning very early broke vp and left the Towne and marched downe by the Riuer of Danubius, but not farre from a River called Rawne<sup>1</sup> betweene which and Danubius the King built a Bridge and marched over with his forces: But Tilly seeing the King comming retreated over the River of Lake<sup>2</sup> which was very deep and pitched his Camp betwixt two Rivers and broke the Bridges hee passed over, by reason that the Kings Army was growne so mighty and strong: All Princes, Dukes, nobility and Gentry with the great free Citties sending hym both aide and provision, Canons and Amunition: and Tillyes Armie growing lesse and lesse having had little supply, hee was glad to retreat. But the King comming on that side where the Towne of Rawne was, pitched his Camp on the right band of the Towne close to the River of Lake where Tilly did ly on the other side, and there entrenched hymself, but could not come over the Water in no short tyme. Tilly lying along the Waterside with Skonse upon Skonse, there playing with their Canons one upon an other, doing great hurt in both Armyes. The King thought to turne the River an other way not beeing very broad that hee might march over with his horse, but it was not possible. But at the last there came to the King a private Boore and told hym, if hee would give hym a good reward hee would show hym a ford where hee might march with his horse, which the King was very ioyfull to heare, and promised the Boore a thousand Crownes if hee did bring hym over, but if hee did not, hee would hang hym up. The King presently commaunded all the baggage horses that were in the Army to bee prouided and brought, whereon hee made his Generall to put seaven thousand Musquetiers and so the King takes his whole Cavalery and makes a Troop of a thousand horse and five hundred Dragoniers, and himself in person with the avantgard passes over the ford in the night, Tilly not knowing of any such forde that was passable, was not prouided for any resistance, but good watch was kept and a Larum was made as the King came over with his Avantgard. The King beeing come

<sup>1</sup> Rain.<sup>2</sup> Lech.

over the ford, made a stande and with his Dragoniers kept the Tillians in play till the rest of his horse were come over, and beeing come caused the Musquetiers to alight and the Baggage horses to go fetch over more souldiers, and so hee planted his horse and his foot along the Riverside. But Tilly hearing that the King was come over the Riuer in person with most of his horse & foot approached thinking to beat the King backe at his first comming where was a sharp combat wherein Tilly was slayne : f. 18. but Generall Maior Aldringer beeing next by hym seeing Tilly was slayne brought his body of very privately and caused his horse and foot to encounter with the King as much as was possible, but the King not desirous to approach further (beeing glad hee had so well got over) till hee had got the ground where before Tilly had past and had broke the Bridge after hym accounting to make an other there. But Aldringer commaunded all the Army to breake vp with their baggage in silence and to march with the Corps of Tilly towards Reigensburg but hee made all the Trumpets to sound all night long so merrily as if they would give the King Battaile the next morning, sending his Canon also away : onely hymself with a good Reregard Kept the Ennemy play having a great Wood upon his backe, a little & a little retreated the better it beeing a very misty morning.

The next morning the Sweves hearing all so still approaching nere Tillyes Trenches durst not bee to [sic] bold to venture upon them, for beeing entrapped with vndermining and blowing up which the King when hee knew in great rage commaunded to enter upon them and so they did, and finding all gonne sent news to the King who angrie to see hymself so cheated of such a prize commaunded a thousand horse which were finlanders with all expedition to follow the Reare of Tillyes Army : but Maior Aldringer beeing a politicke souldier had a hundred souldiers with axes and marching thorough a Wood beeing a narrow passage cut downe the Trees behinde hym which lay so crosse that no horse nor foot could passe without infinite toyle, this beeing in Action having alwaies his Trumpets & Kettledrums sounding and beating very merrily. The Swedes imagining their Army was in the Wood and in the meane tyme the Coronell with his Rearegard marched with what speed hee could after the Army, which had marched ten or twelve leagues before the Swedes knew what was become of them : the finlanders who were in poursuite could not overtake f. 18 b. them, onely tooke some od straglers from the Armie who told them all they could and that Tilly was slayne & dead. After which news which was some 7 or 8 dayes after, away the King went with

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his whole Army to the Towne of Donwart w<sup>ch</sup> a little before had given hym the repulse, which now hee besieged againe, and there hee lay a whole Moneth, at length tooke it by composition, the souldiers going out in good fashion.

Winter now was farre past and the King not resting the whole Winter frost nor snow with wonderfull expedition, but taking one Towne after an other ether by himself in person or by his Commaunders farre and nigh in the lower and upper Palatinate as farre as Mentz &c. came at length to Bauaria where all yielded to hym except Ingolstad, a Towne strong by situation and fortification, lying upon the River of Danubius which Tilly had left well manned with two thousand Musquetiers besides Cittizens who were all as well practised in Armes as the souldiers themselves : The Gouvernour was called Count Cratz,<sup>1</sup> who had bene long Gouvernour thereof and had a Country of his owne called Cratz, which the King amongst other Lands had taken. The King had often tryed to get this Towne by force, but it would not bee for hee went of with great losse still. Yet it did hym so much harme in his Companies that were billited in Bavaria with the Inroades from that Towne, that hee thought hee was not secure vnlesse hee had that also. Hee tryed to see if the Gouvernour would bee wonne by bribes, and so by his Trompeter that passed vp and downe for the Exchange of Prisoners the King sent hym a Letter stuf so full of faire promisses, as that hee would restore hym his owne Country of Cratz againe and keep it that it should not bee pillaged with many others that the Gouvernour was taken, and so many Letters past in prievate betwixt them how and when it should bee donne, which was that the King such a tyme of the night should come nere Ingolstad with his Army, and from thence f. 19. to send three thousand in the night which should have the Governours Trompeter beeing well Knowne to the watche to bring them in under colour they were come from Reynsburg to man the Towne the stronger against the Kings assaults.

So at the appointed hower they came and the gard at the first Entrenchement let them in because the Governours Trompeters came with them. But the gard upon the Wall and upon the second Entrenchement it beeing somewhat a quiet light night heard the noise of horses, looking up spied afarre of the Kings whole Army, with that they cryed Treason, and going to give fire to their Canons and Musquets, found all their powder to bee wet. Then they found surely there was Treason towards the Towne.

<sup>1</sup> See the Introduction.

The Cittizens from the Walles hearing the Treason, gave fire to their Canons, having powder enough vnder their owne Keeping, shot most stoutly without any comaund from the Governour into the Kings Army, where they did much harme as also to the three thousand souldiers in their retreat, whereat the King was very angrie to see his plot tooke not the effect as hee hoped, and in that anger made two or three assaults upon the Towne with very great force and lost many men, and his owne horse was shot under hym, whereupon hee raised his Army and went away, but hoped in tyme to get it by some way or other, when they saw hee had gotten all the rest of the Country, that would not stand out long. But the Coṃaunder of the Towne first when hee was plotting of the Treason sent for the Cittizens of the Towne and told them that the owtward Trenches were very great and there were not men enough to man them, hee would entreat them that every night they would supply the said Trenches and watche in them every night against any assault of the King that might happen sodainly till hee could get three thousand from Reynsburg to supply that defect, whome hee had sent for and expected them nightly, and that they would let them come in quietly without any noise, least the Ennemie should take any advantage by it, and said his Trompeters came with them whome they knew and then hee would release them. They consulted and made answere that if they should doe so, hee would vse them to it, and therefore bid hym content hymself for they would not: it seems the Governours intent was if hee could have gotten them out into the Trenches, there hee would have kept them and shot them in the Trenches, and having the souldiers at commaund, hee might have donne what hee would w<sup>th</sup> the Towne. f. 19 b.

The Governour seeing his plots tooke no effect and that the Cittizens and Souldiers began to murmure and mutiny against hym and had found out his Treason; Hee swore they were Traitours; and so they should heare of it, for hee would goe to the Emperour hymself and complaine, and thereupon tooke a small boat with his best riches & Jewells and rowed downe the River to Reynsburg, & there told the Governour how the Cittizens at Ingolstad had vsed hym and therefore would goe to the Emperour himself to complayne and that it would please the Governour of Reynsburg to let hym have post-horses to carry hym to Vienna: but hee was no sooner out of the Towne but hee rid to the King of Sweue who lay not farre from thence, to whome when hee came hee humbled hymself and told hym the cause of the ill successe of that conspiracy, and with what danger hee got away, and also told hym all

the State of the Towne. The King entertayned hym very well and made him Sergeant Maior and Generall of a flying Army. And so tooke hym along with hym. And the King was going to Ausburg where most of the Lords and Gentry of the Towne (beeing a free Cittie) met hym and fell at his feet, delivering hym the Keys of the Citty, having adorned their Streets with strowing them with hearbs and rushes and their houses set with Palme-trees and entertayned

f. 20. hym so royallie as never was Prince before: the next day hee broke up and went to Miniken, the Duke of Bavarias Palace, and made Coronell Cratz, Governour of Ausburg. Oxenstall, his favorite, hee made Chancelour of all Germanie and Ausburg to bee the Chauncery or Exchequer to receave the Contribution and Taxes that the King had layd upon all the Provinces and Dukedomes of Germany under colour for the maintenance of the Warres but the souldiers got but little of it.

In the meane tyme, the chief Cittizens of Miniken met hym, and fell downe at his feet, submitting themselves, desiring hym to have mercy upon them, for they were but poore subiects and they must yeild to hym that was maister of the Country, & hym they would obey and desired his Ma<sup>ty</sup> that they might enioy their Religion which the King graunted, and marched into the Cittie and in the Palace of the Duke of Bavaria was lodged; which was so stately and pleased hym so wonderfull well that hee stayd there two or three Moneths having found there much richesse & Jewells by Count Cratz his discovering with many ancient Antiquities out of straunge Vaults, which hee sent into Sweueland, and ment to leave his Queene there, and to bee the Seate of his Empire minding from thence to make his Journy to Austria and had an intention from thence to goe to Rome.

But in the meane tyme the Emperour sent to Prague to Walles-ton where hee had lived ever since hee was dismissed of his Army five yeares before. The effect was that hee should bee his Generall of his Army against the Sweue, but Walleston answered hee was dismissed of his last comāund with such dishonour both to the Emperour and also to hym, and at the suite of them who meant his

f. 20 b. Imperiall Ma<sup>ty</sup> no good; but their owne traiterous ends, and as hee himself did presage to his Majesty and now to late it proves too true, and therefore besought his pardon therein. But beeing often solicited therto, at length hee entertayned it upon these conditions that the Emperour should make hym absolute Generall, that is Generalissimo, without any mans power to contradict hym, to fight any Battaile or besiege any Cittie as hee should thinke fit no not the Emperours Counsell of Warre: all which authority put

hym afterwards into such a pride that it was his owne destruction as after shall bee said.

Having receaved the charge from the Emperour, hee sent for the Emperours forces hee had in Italy which lay about Mantua &c. and all the Emperours forces in other places except it was ten thousand under the charge of Don Baltasar <sup>1</sup> a Spaniard in Silesia which fought against the Duke of Saxony. Having gathered this Army which was about fifty thousand strong, his Generall Rendezvous was upon the great Hill by Prague where the Battaile was lost by the King of Bohemia : from thence hee marched thorough Bohemia, and the first Towne hee came to of the Saxons was Elboying<sup>2</sup> a small Cittie but very strong, lying upon a Rocke, whither hee sent Coronell Beckar with certaine Regiments telling hym that if hee did not take in the Towne in eight dayes hee would have his head and there left the Coronell to shift for hymself. After this sharp order the Coronell came to the Towne and assaulted it in the night but failed of his designe ; onely tooke in one Skonse nere the Port of the Towne, but entrenched hymself under the shot of the Canon within two Pikes length of the Port, but with very much difficulty by reason of the Rocke, they in the Towne did hym much hurt with fire-works & Granadoes. The Coronell seeing the place was to hot for hym there because of the rocke that hee could not get farre enough into the ground sounded a Parly, the effect was his Generall Walleston lay at the foot of the hill with his whole Armie and had sent hym to demaund the Towne ; and so if hee would deliver it up the Governour should have what conditions hee would desire, otherwise if Walleston came with his whole Army hee would not spare Man, Woman nor child and hang up the Governour hymself at the Port. The Governour it seemes considering not long of it, or that hee knew Wallestons crueltie, presently yielded up the towne upon the same conditions and hee and his men were safely conducted into Saxony. f. 21.

In the meane tyme Walleston marched with his Army to Falkeno where lay five companies of the Saxons, which Towne hee in the night besieged and in that fury tooke it in putting all to the sword, man Woman and childe and burned the Towne, the Castle kept hym play till the next day, at length sounded a parly thinking hee would serve them also so, came to a composition, and the Souldiers were to serve the Emperour but the Officers were conducted to Saxonie with the Comaunder. From thence Walleston marched towards the City of Aegre where lay a Regiment of Saxons, the

<sup>1</sup> Marradas.

<sup>2</sup> Elbogen.

Coronell was called Doorestetle <sup>1</sup> where hee entrenched himself upon the Hill nere the Towne, they of the Towne not dreaming of his comming, and presently assaulted the Towne but was beaten backe, whereupon hee discharged his Ordinance from the Hill with fire-Granadoes, that the Towne began to burne. The Governour on the other side shot like a Dragon, and did great hurt to the Adversary: but the Cittizens on the sodaine rise in armes almost 5000 of them and came to the Governour of the Towne and tooke hym prisoner, and cut downe the Saxon Souldiers which lay in the towne: and the Lords of the Towne presently sent out at a

f. 21 b. sally port two of the principall men to Walleston and there made their accord so well for the Saxons as for themselves which Walleston well accepted & the souldiers were conducted into Saxony. Where hee lay two or three dayes and the Townesmen entertayned him royally and thence hee departed leaving a garrison. Thither repaired Coronell Beckar who had taken the Towne of Elboing in so small a tyme, and this is the Towne where afterwards hee came to bee so basely Killed; hee & his company as they deserved. From thence Walleston marched to Norinberg a great free Cittie and pitched his Leager not farre from the Citty thinking to take it in, but it was to strong for hym. But hee stronglie entrenched hymself there thinking to expect there to see which way the King of Sweueland would bend for Italy or Austria as the report went hee would, or els come that way to meet with the Duke of Saxony, and so to goe towards Bohemia. But Walleston lying entrenched there did stop his passages that way without hee would come over hym.

But the King puft up with his great victories thought no thing nor no man durst stand in his Way: hearing of Walleston his coming was glad, did swallow hym up in conncit presently and would take no advice to stay till hee had sent abroad for his forces which hee had dispersed into many places for the taking in of Townes all that Winter that they were neuer idle. But away hee would goe with such forces as hee had billited in Bauaria and thereabout which were not aboue twenty thousand; for though hee had an Army of a hundred thousand hee could not commaund them at that tyme, but away hee comes towards Norinberg, where hee heares what an Army Walleston had gathered together and what Townes hee had taken in, in his comming as Aegre &c. put of his thoughts from Italy and Austria when hee came to Norinberg, with some more addition of forces then hee brought with

<sup>1</sup> Starschedel (?) *Theatrum Europæum*, 2, p. 652.

hym, pitched downe his Camp on the other side of the Towne, thinking to give battaile presently to this new Generall, but beeing f. 22. come thither hee found Walleston stronglie entrenched and would not come out to fight. But there they lay one against the other for the space of three Moneths, & every day skirmishing. At last two so great Armies lying so long there a great famine grew in the Swevish Army, though hee had all the benefit the Cittie of Norinberg could yield, for hee lay in the Towne almost all that tyme : at the last the Swevish horse was driven to that need that they were constrained to ride ten or twelve Miles for a bottle of hay : and then many tymes they were catched up by the Crebats and come short home and many taken Prisoners in every corner. For Walleston had stopped two passages, that they could goe a pillageing but one way towards Saxony, and the King grew angrie to see his Army pent up and like to endure a long famyne. One night the King having heated his blood with drinking (from which and women hee had bene held very temperate always before lying long in that Cittie grew very intemperate in both) vowed in that heat presently to set vpon and beat this new proud Generall out of his Trenches and, to use his words to pull the fox out of his denne, having also wrought some of Wallestons Captaines to his mynde made a very brave and fierce assault, was constrained to retire, though with great losses on both sides, and then finding his Army with lying grow weaker and prouision grow scarser and scarser and seeing no good to bee donne upon Walleston in his Trenches broke up and marched towards Saxony and partly to meet new forces which were to come to hym from other Princes : Walleston seeing hee was gonne, broke up also and marched towards foytland, a Country belonging to the Duke of Saxony where hee tooke in many Townes as namely Elsenes,<sup>1</sup> Blone,<sup>2</sup> Houe,<sup>3</sup> Chycho,<sup>4</sup> Camets,<sup>5</sup> Friburg, Aldenburg all Citties of great account and after marched to Wisenfets <sup>6</sup> [sic] where the King of Sweve had lyne the night before, expecting to meet with Duke William of Lunenburg <sup>7</sup> who had an Army comming of fiftene thousand to ioyne with the King, who came but it was after the King was Killed. f. 22 b.

The next morning Walleston broke up and marched away and betwixt Whysonfeldt <sup>6</sup> and Lytzen found the King was nere with

<sup>1</sup> Oelsnitz.

<sup>2</sup> Plauen.

<sup>3</sup> Hof.

<sup>4</sup> Zwickau.

<sup>5</sup> Chemnitz.

<sup>6</sup> Weissenfels.

<sup>7</sup> George, not William.

his Army begun to look about hym and order his Army. The King it seemes hearing of Wallestons nearnesse hasted with all speed with his Army ; which Walleston hearing and finding hymself in a field <sup>1</sup>fit as hee thought for hym to fight a Battaile with the King, pitched downe his Camp : but presently sent a Poast after Papenham (who was marched not long before from Walleston not thinking the King and Walleston should meet) into Saxony to Holl <sup>1</sup>a Cittie to take it in, if hee could ; or otherwise to fetch provision to help Wallestons Army, which news when Popenham heard hee returned with all speed, but the Armies had ioyned battaile before hee came. Where Walleston had set downe his Army was nere a Hill whereon stood 3 Winde-Mills which hee threw downe and thereon planted his Canons. In the front of his Camp lay a long dry ditche which hee filled full of Musketiers : so the King coming lay downe with his Army before his Adversarie that this long ditche did part both the Armies.

Both the Armies began to advance and at the first charge the Imperialists had the Winde <sup>2</sup> of the Sweves which was a great advantage to them. But the Kings encountring bravely with them wheeled about this way and that way till hee had got the Winde of the Imperialists, and then the advantage was turned upon his side, which Walleston from aloft where hee stood made Piccolominie to strive to repaire that disadvantage, who came with his two thousand Cuirassiers which are Horsemen armed Cape a pied from head to foot, who at his first comming made a wonderfull breach through the Kings finlanders who are light horsmen, but lighting upon a Brigade of the Kings Infantry, thinking to breake thorough them also, the foot receaved them with such a Volley of shot, that they were constrayned to retyre. And the finlanders with their light horse wheeling about upon their Rere, that in that retreat there was such a confusion that both horsmen came pell-mell over the dry ditch, that those musketiers which were layd there to gall the ennemy could not hurt the ennemy but must shoot their owne. But Walleston supplying that fault with new forces the Ennemy retired ; but the ditch was quickly filled up and leuelled in that encounter with horse and man that lay dead therein.

Just at which charge came Papenham in, having marched all night hym and his Troopes with no tyme to rest, and the first hee light upon was the King in the head of a Troop for which forwardnesse hee was much blamed, nether of them had any

<sup>1</sup> Halle.

<sup>2</sup> See the Introduction.

Armour but in Buffe as other souldiers were. How each knew one an other it is not certaine but know one an other they did. It may bee by their Pictures : for Papenham pricked forward very courageously crying Viue Ferdinando. The King presently answered with like courage Viue Gustavo, and so encountred the first second and third tyme in which approach was slayne many a brave spirit. The King and Papenham were sore wounded in the first and second charge, seeing their owne blood grew like Spanish horses more fierce then at the first : but at the third encounter they both got their deadly wounds and the King fell from his horse : Papenham was brought of and lived about the space of three quarters of an hower, saying now I am desirous to dy having the honour to kill this great King and Generall who did strive to bee Emperour.

But though these two great Commaunders were killed, the Victory inclined to nether side, and the Kings body beeing fallen from his horse to the ground ; ether side stroue, the one to saue, f. 23 b. the other to get the body of the dead King. There was a bloody fight and many fell on both sides : but the Sweish recovered his body and carried it of, for it grew towards night, and both the Armies sounded a retreat, for both sides had enough : and the Kings body could not bee found till the next day nor known & had it not bene by a little ring which hee had on his finger hee had not bene knowne at all, for his face & head was troden all to pieces by the horse-feet fighting to get his body when hee was fallen, that hee could by no meanes bee knowne by it : nor by his cloaths, they were so suteable with the rest of his Commaunders. The night beeing farre in, both Armies retreated the space of one half English mile and refreshed themselves beeing wonderfull weary man and horse, so many of both as were left unkilld : wee were scarcely laid downe on the ground to rest and in dead sleep but comes a comāund from the Generall to all Coronells and Sergeant Maiors to give in a Note how strong every Regiment was found to bee, but it seemes finding every Regiment very weake by the Officers Relation, wee had scarcely had one sleep for ourselves & our horses and as little victualls for both ; hee caused in private the Leager to breake up without ether sound of Trumpet or Drumme and also hee was glad and so were the rest of the Comāunders to leave most of their baggage behind them and also all the Canon, for the baggage and Canon Jades were all burst loose and run away and the Generall in hast and so there was no remedy. But indeed I thinke hee feared the suddaine comming of the Luningburg with fresh forces : but in all hast without scantly



eating anie thing that night wee marched 8 mile backe to Altenburg with so much as were left of our broken Army which I thinke  
 f. 24. were betwixt five and six thousand of fiftie thousand that were brought to field. It was thought that Walleston had had the better of the day, but that some of his Captaines were false to hym in fight, shooting their pistols vp in the ayre when they encountred with the Conspiratours on the other side, which it seemes the old fox did not forget, when hee had these Captaines in his clutches at Prague; as I remember, they were some 36 in number, some of them were Coronell Huskirk,<sup>1</sup> young Grave Coronell Tirskey, Coronell Nyman and others more I cannot name. Where on a scaffold he whipped of their heads much against the will of the Emperour, who sent expresse word to Prague to save them till at least his Army was stronger, but it would not doe: which they said it was to strike terrour into the rest. But a little backe to the Sweves, who could not tell whether to bee more sad for the losse of their brave King or ioyfull that Walleston was beaten out of the field, and was sneaked away with the losse of all his bag and baggage and Canons, which was very great, besides the death of Papenham: whom it is said the King was advised by some of his Wisards<sup>2</sup> to avoid, and that it made hym bastier to battaile hearing of his departure, but it seemes whether hee feared death that day, hee had ordered all his officers in order, that one might supply the others death and mischance, and so hee did for hymself, if himself failed, hee appointed Gustavus Horne to supply presently his place, that there should bee no confusion in the Army, the head beeing stricken. Walleston beeing got away as I have said, the Sweves staying upon the field got all Wallestons Canons and baggage.

Presently the next day after the battaile or thereabouts in came the Duke of Luninburg with his sixteene thousand men, and finding what was donne and that the King was killed, and that, hee thought, was for his slownesse in comming was mightily  
 f. 24 b. discontent with hymself and tore his hayre and began to despaire of good successe against the Emperour, having lost the King of Sweue in whome was all their hope having had such prosperous successe from his first comming into Germany for their deliverie

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to say who are meant by these names: Huskirk may be Hofkirch. The rest are uncertain. 'Young Grave Coronell Tirskey' may be a description of some cadet of the Trczka family. Wallenstein spared no man in his wrath. But Khevenhüller's list (XII. 495) contains no such names.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Harte, ii, p. 268 note and perhaps the letter from Lilly in Harte, Appendix II.

even till this tyme ; and finding that Walleston was sneaked away presentlie hee determined to poursue hym with all speed hee could and so sent his light horsemen after him and himself came after with the rest of his Army. But Walleston by his continuall marches night and day had gotten out of his clutches and was got to Prague where hee wintred and dispersed his Army in Bohemia.

The Duke of Luneburg seeing Walleston was not to be overtaken marched (though it was farre in winter) into Foitland which Walleston (as is formerly spoken of) had taken in, but comming to Chiko, the Winter forced hym to dissolve his army.

Before I goe any further in the historie of Walleston what hee did after the King of Swethland his death, as also of Walleston his owne death, I must speake something of the Duke of Saxony, my late maister, which is as followeth. It may bee some when they shall read that which hereafter I shall write of the Duke of Saxonie my late Maister, will say that it had bene better on my behalf to have suppressed in silence that, which I have written here, then for mee to divulge his faults, considering that by my owne confession I had the first honour I had given mee in martiall affaires, after my escape out of my captiuitie from the Turkes from his handes, viz, to be sworne of his guard and after that to bee made Cap<sup>n</sup> of a Troop of Horse. I cannot but confesse it and would have donne it still and did doe it very faithfullie whilst I served hym : but when I found that hee was false to the Emperour, my heart was alwaies from hym, and though in that battaile wherein f. 25. Tilly was overthrowne my hand was in blood as other souldiers were, yett I confesse I did that I did against my conscience and would faine have got away from hym but I could not come of handsomely, and so I trust God did see my heart and preserved mee from death in that great battaile (wherein so many did perish): to doe pennance for my fault, considering hee made the Emperour believe that Army hee raised was in his behalf against the Swevish King ; and for his honour hee gave mee, it was much to mee, but nothing to hym, for hee was very prodigall of that which cost hym nothing : but gave mee not allowance to maintaine that honour, but what I could sharke ether from the Boores, or from the souldiers I had under mee : and that which most vexed mee was that in foitland under his dominion and in his service I was taken Prisoner by Count Butler one of the Emperours Coronells and an Irish-man and the same man that killed afterwards Walleston though I sent to hym to tell hym what state I was in, and that hee would bee pleased to pay my ransom or els I must starve in prison, or serve the Emperour (which is the custome on

both sides in those German Warres) and I could never get any answeare from hym of my Letter, nether in Word nor writing which fell out very well for mee to serve according to my owne conscience, and light under an honourable Coronell who by his credit raised mee and loved mee entirely as his deeds did show and so to my history from which I have thus long digressed in my owne excuse.

# A TRUE RELATION

OF GEORGE DUKE OF SAXONIES MUTABILITIE  
 ACCORDING TO HIS OPPORTUNITIES FIRST FROM  
 THE EMPEROUR FERDINAND TO THE KING  
 OF BOHEMIA, AND THEN FROM HIM TO  
 THE EMPEROUR AGAINE THEN FROM  
 THE EMPEROUR TO THE KING OF  
 SWEVELAND : AND FROM THE  
 SWEVE TO THE EMPEROUR:  
 AND HOW HEE SUFFERED  
 AND WAS PUNISHED  
 BY ALMOST ALL.

It is well knowne and spoken in Bohemia, that George now f. 25 b.  
 Duke of Saxonie, though hee made a fine show to the Emp<sup>r</sup>  
 Ferdinand, that hee was a Conspiratour with those first Bohemian  
 Lords for the bringing in of the late King of Bohemia. But after  
 hee was crowned King, hee begun to hate hym, because hee saw  
 hym grow too great and in probability having such supporters  
 would come to bee Emperour, when hee hymself had the place  
 offered hym and refused it, and the Emperour hymself was brought  
 very low by that generall rebellion : and withall if hee should bee  
 Emperour and a Calvinist hee would bee to neere and great a  
 neighbour for hym beeing a Lutheran and so did begin to feare  
 hymself and his state : and withall one who was so farre under  
 hym in honour and estate, now like to bee as farre above hym  
 in both ; these cogitations terribly troubled hym night and day  
 till at last advising with his counsell hee resolved to take part and  
 bee of the Emperours side for, quoth hee, this old Emperour  
 and himself were nerer farre in religion then any Calvinist of  
 them all, for, quoth hee, the Calvinists hate both our Religions,  
 and the Emperours Religion and myne differ but in small matters,  
 and hee had tryed the Emperour to bee an honest man and  
 they two had bene of great familiaritee and long acquaintance f. 26.  
 and could understand one an other in the same language and  
 breake their myndes to one an other without an Interpreter :  
 where to this new King hee must come that an other must tell

his Tale.<sup>1</sup> These considerations agreed upon, hee was quickly reconciled to the Emperour, and the Emperour was glad that hee had drawne such a prop from his Adversary the new crowned King. But the Emperour it seemes bemoaning himself to hym, and how that his purse was poore, considering his Revenews were so curtayled by this generall Rebellion of his Subiects, the Saxon bid hym bee of good cheere, hee should not want mony : aad so for six millions the Country of foitland<sup>2</sup> was morgaged to the Duke, and so in truth hee stucke close to hym which in outward show had hee fallen from hym it had gonne very hard with the Emp<sup>r</sup>, for hee helped hym with men and mony and hymself in person tooke in many Townes for the Emperour in Silesia and Morauia : but at length the King of Bohemia beeing overthrowne and driven out of his new Kingdome, having bene scantly a whole yeare there, and the Emperour Ferdinand growne very strong hee begun then to feare his greatnesse and to bee sory that hee had bene a meanes to lift hym up to such a height : that hee kept Walleston in the field with forty or threescore thousand men here and there that kept all in awe that none durst stirre. And Walleston hymself beeing very austere and severe in his charge the Princes of Germanie making some complaint of his severitie to the Emperour : the Emperour did somewhat checke Walleston and advise hym to bee more temperate in his place, but it seemes Walleston found severitie was necessarie for hee told the Emperour that if we loose the reynes to them, they will bee ready enough to put your Ma<sup>ty</sup> besides your seate as you have found it very lately to your cost and so kept his strict hand as hee had formerly donne and also kept his souldiers in awe, that they durst not oppresse the subiect as hitherto they had donne. This stuck much in the Princes stomach and made them discontent that they could not prevaile.

f. 26 b.

Not long time after out of his zeale to Gods Church, the Emperour thinking to doe in the Provinces of Germany, that which hee had donne in Austria and other his owne Inheritance viz. get all or most of the Religious Land to bee laid to their houses againe as formerly it had bene before the Warres : but the case was altered, for the Warres had turned them to be most mens Inheritances and all that many Lay-men had to live on, and so would rather part with their lives then their livings ; it went so farre that most of the Princes of Germanie were deeply touched

<sup>1</sup> 'Voightland' : is a mistake for Lusatia.

<sup>2</sup> Poyntz is apparently here thinking, with his customary confusion of ideas, not of the Count Palatine but of the King of Sweden. In either case the point is an absurd one.

therein, yea Saxonie and Bavaria and most of them made a stiffe denyall of the motion, and seeing they had gotten them in these Warres by the sword, so they would hould them. This made a generall heart-burning against the Emperour, and other things were not wanting to fire on Toe : and faine they would have bene in rebellion but durst not, because Wallestons Army held them in awe : so it seems that they had private consultations how to get rid of Walleston, and his Army, but made no great show of discontent outwardly : at last they made a generall Petition yea Bavarias hand to it and most of the Protestant Princes to the Emperour for the suppressing of Walleston and his Army ; obiecting his crueltie : the Emperour moved with the petition of so many and such great people, condescended for Walleston his laying downe his Armes which with a discontented mynd hee did, presaging to the Emperour what would follow, but Tilly was put in place. The Princes having got this their desire, were ready presently to rise in rebellion, but they could not agree who should bee head of this f. 27. Insurrection : at last they agreed to try the King of Sweveland who after many entreaties came and to whome they all repaired, especially the Duke of Saxony, as I have formerly related at large ; what brave acts the King of Sweue and Saxonie did after the death of Tilly, the one in Westphalia and Bavaria and carried all before hym and on that side, the other, I meane the Duke of Saxony on the other side the world, even almost to Vienna. But a word by the way. In the battaile against Tilly, the King of Sweve would not trust hym, but made hym begin the battaile in person first, least hee himself beginning the fight, the Duke should run away and leave hym in the lurch, as before is related hee little better did. But to our story.

The Duke with his Generall Arnem after Tillies overthrow did wonders, not loosing any tyme but followed it hard, no men daring a great while to stand in their way, first recovered all the Townes wonne by Walleston in Saxony and foitland ; then tooke all Bohemia as Egre, Lintz,<sup>1</sup> Piltzon, &c. even unto Prague. The Lords of the Towne hearing of his comming met him, submitting themselves desirous they might not bee pillaged, and for the redemption of that, they were content to give hym [ ] thousand Crownes of gold and sylver weekly so long as hee stayed there, whereof the Jewes were to pay half, and the Cittizens the other half besides a reuenew which came out of the Country about to hym, where hee liked his entertainment so well that hee staid

<sup>1</sup> ? Leitmeritz : or else a mere blunder.

there all Winter, from whence hee sent though in Winter his Generall Armem into Silesia & Moravia and tooke in most of the Townes hee came before : and at his going away carryed a Tun of gold and sylver with hym, that hee drayned the whole country dry of mony to pay hym his Composition. At the Spring hee raysed his Army, part hee left with Armem his Generall, & y<sup>e</sup> other part hee carryed with hym into Saxony, hee would have stayed longer

f. 27 b. at Prague hee had such good entertainment there, but hee receaved letters from Saxony that the Emp<sup>r</sup> had sent 2 running Armies into that Country, who in his absence had run over his Country, and carryed & droue away a world of prey besides burning all where they came, which news made hym mad, and so made hym post away with part of his Army to succour his Country.

Don Baltazar <sup>1</sup> a Spaniard, with an other of the Emperours Comaunders who had but <sup>2</sup> one ey, hearing that hee was comming with his Army, tooke all the prises they could get of sheep Oxen Cowes, horses, yea hogs, and drove them all away out of the Country, and away they went : so when the Duke came they were gonne ; but hee found most part of his Country burned which made hym wilde. After the Duke had stayed at home a great while, and found that hee was free from his Ennemies and that they were gonne ; because his souldiers should not ly idle at home and eat upon his owne Country, which hee found much harrowed, hee sent them backe into Silesia to his Generall Armem againe where they were to ioine with some Sweuish forces about some great exploit : but as soone as Don Baltazar and his Companion heard hee had sent away his forces so farre of with some 6000 light horse and pieces but no Canon thither they came againe, and did more harme than before, for they tooke Lypswicke and ransacked it and burned it, but the Castle they could not get : and other Townes of great importance payed them great sommes of money to keep their suburbs and mills from burning. Nay they ran vp to Drayson itself where hee hymself was, and burned some houses hard at the Gate of the Citty, and hee hymself ran vp and downe the Walles crying out and lamenting to see it. The

f. 28. Cittizens of Prague you must thinke were no small glad men that they were rid of such a costly Guest. But when they thought how hee had drayned and squeesed them of their mony, then they sent after hym many bitter curses, but the Proverb is, the the more the fox is cursed, the better hee fares ; but made Wise by these deare

<sup>1</sup> Marradas.

<sup>2</sup> Holk.

experiences, considering with themselves how to prevent such after-claps againe, for that the Duke having found such sweet entertaynement there, would come againe, or any other by the Dukes example, if they come with any power they could not nor were not able to resist them, their Towne beeing an open Towne, was subiect to every Incursion : some of the best of the Citty repaired to the Emperour to condole their miserie : the Emperour was feeling of their case as themselves considering in their losse was hys losse : taking counsel of his Councel about it, whereupon Enginiers were sent to see if it could bee made able to resist and withstand an Army : which was donne with expedition and brought in short tyme to such perfection & strength as is incredible and old Corredor <sup>1</sup> was made Governour thereof with 16000 Souldiers. The Duke of Saxonie heard of what those of Prague were about and did strive to hinder the worke, but beeing hindred by other occasions could not come so soone as hee would with sufficient forces, but that the worke was finished : yet towards the later end of Sommer having ioyned with Banier Generall of the Sweish forces, which were on that side the Country making betwixt them an Army of sixtie thousand, came bravely up to Prague to assault the Towne ; encouraging their souldiers and promising them the pillage, whereof the souldiers in hope were so ioyfull, the Duke telling them how hee sped there that they cast away their upper Garments that they might bee the lighter to run up to skale the Walles, but they were entertained at the top of their skaling ladders with a World of long heaue Iron bound to Trees which were let downe suddainely upon them, that carried all before them to the ground, and yet with a devise of Iron chaynes at ether end of them suddainely drawne up againe for a new assault : and what with the Volly of shot of Musquet & Canons that Saxon & Banier were forced to retreat. And Colredor sallying out of the entrenchments slew many a brave fellow. But Saxon & Banier charged the second & third tyme and this did last in wonderfull heat from breake of day till night and still repulsed, & had set up their rest, not to depart from thence till they got it. In the height and heat of this assault, it seemes a post comes to the Duke and Banier of very heavy news that the Army of the United Princes under the comaund of Duke Saxon Weymar and Count Horne were cleane overthrowne by the King of Hungary and the Cardinall in a great battaile at Norling <sup>2</sup> not far from Bauaria I thinke it is in Westphalia, which stricke such a discourage-

f. 28 b.

<sup>1</sup> Colloredo.<sup>2</sup> Nördlingen.



ment into the two Generalls that they presently broke up the siege from Prague with both their Armies without the sound of Drum or Trompet, whereof the Governour getting notice sallied out with 8 or 9000 men and came vpon the Saxons and the Swevish rere, who hauing a very narrow passage betwixt Slawne<sup>1</sup> & Prague under the Hill, the Emperialists made a great slaughter of the Sweves and Saxons and thereupon returned backe into Prague, not daring to follow them any further, Saxon & Banier after they had passed the passage making a stand with their

- f. 29. Armyes. The Duke at his first departure from Prague tooke a solemne leave of the Cittizens, I meane when hee carried so much mony from thence and with a Jiere should bid them farewell, thanking them for his royall entertaynement, which no man could have better for hee had had fidlers fayre, Meate, drinke and mony for hym and his, in plenty : But yet (quoth hee) I thinke no welcome. And now at this stand hee made (quoth hee to Banier) my old Hosts of Prague are wonderfully altered in their kindnesse since I was last here, for then they entertayned mee bravely with meat drinke and mony and now they are turned to the cleane contrary. It seemes (quoth hee) there is no trust to them.

The Cittizens on the contrary were glad to see their labour and charge to bee so well bestowed, and to so good purpose, and hoped they should not bee troubled with their troublesome guest so oft having had such cold entertaynement as they had given hym. His former sweet meat had now some sower sauce for they lost 7 or 8000 men betwixt the two Generalls.

- But away went these two Generalls with great speed into the Dukedome of Lowsnets<sup>2</sup> which ioynes upon Saxony to refresh their Armyes, much discontented to see all their plots turned contrary, for they had swallowed all among them I meane Saxon and Banier, beeing so strong on this side with sixty thousand men verily accounted to have taken Prague, and so it should not have bene long before they had bene in Austria with so potent an Army would have maystered Vienna and all. And how<sup>3</sup> at this tyme they
- f. 29 b. knew what a potent Army the Princes of the Union had about Westphalia under the Leading of Horne and Duke Saxon Weymar.

But Saxon hymself went home to Drayson in Saxony whither beeing come much melancholy to thinke that y<sup>e</sup> overthrow of his fellow Princes at Norling would bee his also, and the next doing the Emp<sup>r</sup> would have should bee with hym called his Councell and

<sup>1</sup> Schlan.

<sup>2</sup> Lausitz : Lusatia.

<sup>3</sup> ? now.

Nobility and acquainted them with what had happened to hym with a repulse at Prague and now the overthrow of his fellow Princes in whose good successe all his hope was, what was fitting for hym to doe. For hee considered the Emp<sup>r</sup> had maistered all the Princes, and almost the Sweves and none but the french were any thing strong in Germany, and hee wanting the Princes helpes and the Sweves : the Emp<sup>r</sup> would bee at length too hard for the french and drive him out : and quoth hee if the french should prevaile it would bee as bad or worse for hym hee <sup>1</sup> beeing also a Papist and a proud generation : at length resolved to submit hymself to the Emp<sup>r</sup> and sent presently an Embassadour to the Emp<sup>r</sup> with offer of his submission, so that hee might have some reasonable conditions which hee would desire. First that the Emp<sup>r</sup> should pardon hym and all the united Princes and all the free-Townes that should submit themselves to hym : and that also for his owne part hee would have the Dukedome of Lowsnets confirmed to hym and his heyres which hee already had in the first Bohemian Warre pawned to hym for 6 millions of gold : also hee would have the Towne of Aegria to hym and his heyres, and his Sonne to be B<sup>p</sup> of Magdeburg during his life : and the Lutheran Religion quiet without any Jesuits or Priests to bee put in their Country for 40 yeare as they had it before.

The Embassadour comming was receaved in great state where f. 30. after consideration had of things how they stood viz that the french were gotten verry strong in Germany and the Sweves though their King was killed had strong footing in Pomerania and other places and this Duke of Saxony of hymself verry strong and to nere neighbour to Bohemia, at length the Dukes Embassadour was returned with kinde acceptance of his offers and yielding to all hee desired : onely that the Duke should bring them all to submission and to a Dyet at Ratisbone to consult about the quiet and good of Germany which in no age was ever so martyred & destroyed.

Saxon presently upon this peace somewhat abruptly withdraw-eth his Army from Banier the Swevish generall, and though this peace was carryed as close as they could from Banier : Yet the Dukes Generall Arnem beeing a good Sweuish in heart gave Banier notice of his maisters secret peace-making with the Emperour wherenpon Banier seeing how the Saxon had forsaken hym, and that hee was not able to stand and encounter alone with the Saxon Army, retreated thorough Saxonie pillaged the Country

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the French king.

before hym, whereat Saxon beeing angrie and mad persecuted after Banier and made proclamation that every man that would, might kill any Sweve hee could meet with all. The Saxons Generall Arnem seeing how hotly things were like to growe betwist his Maister and the Sweve and being rich discharged himself of his office and went home. Here you see in a little space his change from the Emp<sup>r</sup> to the Sweve and now on a suddaine from the Sweve to the Emp<sup>r</sup> againe and hee had blowes from them all. But Saxon wanting a Generall by the advise of his Generall Arnem sent to Duke Holsten his kinsmen that hee would send hym Coronell Powdize <sup>1</sup> who was a good Souldier but hee retired hymself from the Warres to Lubecke a Sea Towne and there lay idle, to come & bee his Generall, who was also Swevish in heart, and it is thought had some instruction from Arnem that

f. 30 b. hee suffred Banier to run over all Saxony almost that Winter before hee could or would draw his Souldiers out of Garrison to rescue his new maisters Country of Saxony from burning and pillageing. But Banier had gotten such an advantage of the Duke of Saxon his Generall that hee would not suffer hym to bring his souldiers togeather, they beeing wintered in such severall places but snapped them up here & there, not letting them meet, that hee had slayne & taken prisoners 16000 and began to take in Townes & Citties in Saxony as namely Servist, Tesso, Holl, Merseburg and Nowing-burg<sup>2</sup> which two Townes lastly named gave hym 2 Millions of Gold to spare them from burning and pillageing, which after hee had got he pillaged them both and tooke the Lords and Gentry Prisoners that were in the Townes and who thither had fled for safetie with 2000 horse they had brought thither and where hee stayed a long tyme living like a little King fetching in booties out of all the Country about. The Duke of Saxony seeing hee was not strong enough to deal with Banier sent to the Emp<sup>r</sup> in all hast to assist hym, who sent hym out of Silesia 6000 men by Count Marachin<sup>3</sup> and also sent hym 12000 by Count Hatzfield which as<sup>4</sup> I said formerly lay upon the Lant-grave of Hesse his Country and 5000 more by Count Wullifield<sup>5</sup> these three Armies meeting by Holl ioyned with the Duke of Saxonies forces which were but weake vpon a great plaine whither the Duke came & viewed vs<sup>6</sup> and was

<sup>1</sup> Baudissin, who is at times called Baudiss.

<sup>2</sup> Zerbst, Dessau, Halle, Neuenburg.

<sup>3</sup> Marazin or Marazini, Harte, vol. i, p. 260. Rudolph Freiherr von Marazin or Marzin, commander of Croats.

<sup>4</sup> Nothing has so far been said of this, but see p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> Uhlefeld (?).

<sup>6</sup> Poyntz had apparently been with the Imperialists in Hesse.

glad to see vs, and promised vs, if wee did beat the Ennemy out of the Country hee would give vs two Moneths pay. The Ennemy came bravely vp to fight with vs a great way from his Leagner, as wee would desire, and had hym at our mercy, for wee were two for one when the Ennemy saw hee had entrapt hymself would have retreated little thinking the Duke had so many men come to hym, but we would not let hym go backe and ready to charge hym, f. 31. the Ennemie seeing into what straights hee was brought, vsed policy & cosened us all for hee sounded a parly. The Duke of Saxony beeing Generall of the field accepted of it, and sent to our Comaunders to hold their hands, with the which they were very angrie, & sent the Duke word againe hee did not know when to use a Victory, for God had given his Ennemy into his hand and all the pillage hee had gotten out of his Country should have it againe, and that hee should never have such an opportunity againe over hym, and wherein was the strength of the Sweves, and that this was but policie & a stratageme to deliver hymself out of the strait hee was in. But the Duke sent us word it was not good to put that to a battaile which oftentymes when it is thought most sure falls out contrary, and so in this parly the Ennemy got a truce of 24 howers, in which tyme so soone as night came hee made a Brige over the River of Elve close by which River his Camp lay, and by morne had passed over his Canons and on the other side had mounted them and played vpon us and kept us of till all his Army was got over. The Duke seeing how hee was gulled was mad angry and then went higher to make a Bridge to follow hym over. But the Ennemy seeing his intent followed after hym on the other side and still beat to pieces what all the Dukes art could doe in the night hee would beat to pieces in the day: that at length they were faine to march 5 or 6 mile about to get over and when they were got over then was hee marched away and crossed the River againe: most of the Emp<sup>m</sup> comaunders seeing what a deale of tyme they lost took leave of the Duke and went whither they were appointed by the Emp<sup>r</sup> viz. Count Hatsfield to march with his Army towards Gallas who lay in Burgundy whither I went with it.

Some of the Emperours forces were comaunded to stay with the Duke but wee heare since that Banier with his Swevish forces have put the Duke and the Imperialists to a great deale of foile and have given them many overthrowes. f. 31 b.

I have a great while digressed from my history willing to continue all together what I had to say of the Duke of Saxony and so I have donne as neere as I could: though many things mentioned herein happened half a yeare & neere a yeare betwixt.

- Otherwise I could not I thought make my Story so full to the Readers sight of his variety of changes as lay for his owne commodity. By reason of which I was constrained to leave prosecuting Walleston from the tyme of the Battaille hee had with the King of Sweveland, who was killed by Papenham, unto the tyme of Wallestons owne death. And please you to remember I abruptly left my History of Walleston after the King of Sweveland his death for to tracke the Saxon Duke, which having donne I am now come to it againe ; how Walleston got to Prague &c ; and what rigour hee used to his faulty Comaunders and I thinke formerly I have mentioned their names, how hee wintered in Prague & dispersed his souldiers there & whilst hee lay at Prague so long hee had tyme to studie mischief ; and then it seemes the Deuill followed hym in his ambitions thoughts : that now or never it was in his power to make hymself Emp<sup>r</sup> finding the King of Sweveland who set hard for it, to bee taken out of his way, and hee himself to have all the Imperiall forces under his Comaunders, and officers many which hee had made to his owne Bowe. It onely rested for his more easy ascent to that place, to draw into this conspiracie the vnited Princes the now Emp<sup>m</sup> Adversaries, which ioyning with hym who could hinder hym but a poore naked Emp<sup>r</sup>, whome hee had taken all his strength from, and onely left hym with the bare title of Emp<sup>r</sup> which hee could soone deprive
- f. 32. hym of by taking away his life & his issue which hee had set hard for, if God had not bene on his side : and so it seemes hee had had that Winter many intercourses betweene the vnited Princes and hym about the businesse and had broke his mynd to them with great liberall promises Saxony should bee King of Bohemia, Brandeburg King of Hongary and all of them should have had honour & places and hymself Emp<sup>r</sup> : with w<sup>ch</sup> offers they were all taken & liked them well : but they were not certaine of his reality herein, for they knew hym to bee a great Polititian and that this might bee a trap to catch them in and when hee had taken them in some hold under colour of debating busines cut of their heads. Hee it seemes strove all hee could to put this suspicion out of their heads, and so set the better colour to it and without least suspicion ether side drew into the field with all the force they had the Spring beeing come. The Duke of Saxony his Generall and Duvalt <sup>1</sup> for Brandeburg with the Swevish Generall having wintered in Silesia began to draw their forces into the field, and somewhat bending towards Bohemia. Walleston hearing thereof

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.

drew all his forces together and had his generall rendezvous at Budin in Bohemia; and from thence hee marched towards Swinets<sup>1</sup> in Silesia his Army beeing 60000 strong whither when hee came hee found the Armies of Saxon & the Sweves within two English Miles where hee pitched his Camp and entrenched himself very strong, thither came also the Adversary and pitched their Camp on the other side of the Towne and entrenched themselves very strong where both Armies lying very long many skirmishes past betwixt the horsemen and braving one the other every one striving to get the passages, to keep the other side from going for victuals, many were taken by the Crabats & at length famine grew hot among the Army Walleston after they had layne thus long the space of fower Moneths braving one the other expecting daily when wee should fight, for Walleston marched out of his Trenches and so did the Ennemy. And our Crabats began the fight with the Ennemies Cavalerie and all of our side looking when wee should ioine battaile, on a suddaine the Saxon sounded a parly. So the souldiers valour was soone dashed and stopped for presently a Comaund run thorough the whole Army upon paine of death that none of the Imperialists should doe the least wrong to the Saxons and Sweues during the Treaty of peace which lasted the space of 14 dayes. Their Generalls and ours comming together every day & sate in Councell treating of a generall Peace in publike & in private it seemes of Treason, so that many did suspect something but they could not tell what, things were carried so politicktly. For the souldiers did mumble and curse to have seene them selves cubbed<sup>2</sup> and pent up so long and did nothing and then to give a colour to what did follow by comming to a Parly, and the more to colour the businesse that it should bee sounded first by the Ennemy and not any seeking of Wallestons. Our souldiers and Commaunders were mad to have bene a fighting. So during this Treaty which was 14 dayes great familiarity was betwixt the Generalls, great feasting and drinking of health one to the other. But there was during this feast a thing happened which was like to have marred all their sport which was this. The King of Denmarke had a Sonne of his in the Adversaries Army, who had the comaund of a Regiment of Dragoniers: A forward young Prince hee seemed to bee and apt to quarrell especially in his drinke. Picolominie saw it well & observed it, quoth hee to Galas, this fellow must bee taken downe in tyme. If hee come to bee King what will hee doe: a little occasion of

<sup>1</sup> Schweidnitz.

<sup>2</sup> ? cribbed.

- f. 33. quarrell was taken betwixt them, quoth Picolomini, your father is bound to send ayde to the Emp<sup>r</sup>. my maister upon his allegiance : his Kingdome beeing at his mercie to have outed hym, and hee sends here a Sonne of his to fight against hym. And the truth was, Picolomini would not pledge his fathers health, for the said reasons : wherat the young Prince grew very angrie and gave Picolomini some hard language. That night the young Prince going home to his tent after this healthing, a long fellow clad in a fooles clothing meets hym with a Musket on his necke, and makes hym stande, crying thou fall out with my maister Picolomini ; and shootes hym, and dead hee falls ; away fled the Jester and was quickly conuayed away. A great adoe there was and a generall search for hym. The Princes of the Vnion were mad-angry and therefore stood upon their guard as though they would have gonne to battaile and it was long before they could bee brought to treate againe or out of their Trenches. Walleston hymself showed hymself mad-angrie and it seemes thought all his plot had bene broken, but at length with much adoe it was pieced againe, laying the fault upon a Mad foole and in Policy seeing they could not fully agree upon the peace there beeing not able for famyne to stay longer ; it was agreed those great Generalls & their Armies should have an other tyme of meeting and that should bee at Aegra about Bohemia, where all should bee concluded : Hither Walleston carried his businesse so close that though some did suspect something, yet they could not tell what. The day beeing appointed of these great Princes meeting or their Generalls viz. Saxon, Sweve & Brandeburg came according to their tyme as shall bee showed to Aegra. Now that Walleston had brought these Princes to his desire it onely rested now some private Governours hee had to
- f. 33 b. winne to hym, or els to catche them in his Clawes which were Gallas, Picolominie, Don Baltazar a Spaniard and the Duke of Bavaria his Generall Coronell [            ]<sup>1</sup>. Gallas and Picolominie hee had with hym and did looke narrowly to them least they should get from hym. These Campes beeing broke up from Silesia, Walleston left some 12000 of his Army behind hym, to keep that Country under the commaund of Don Baltazar. The Sweve and Saxon left also of their forces to keep and guard that they had in that Country, though this last treaty of peace was a Kinde of Truce, under the comaund of old Count Thurne and Sergeant Maior Duvalt the Saxon and the Sweuish Commanders, for all this Truce did a great deale of mischief in Silesia and that

<sup>1</sup> Aldringer.

so much as if the Truce had not bene.<sup>1</sup> Don Baltazar and his fellow Commaunder Showtcoats<sup>2</sup> saw and heard of the mischief they did, sent the Saxon and Swevish Commaunders word of it once or twice desiring them to see thinges amended, but they were so farre from it that Thurne hymself and Duvalt were in the field themselves burning and taking in of Villages. Don Baltazar saw they would not bee warned, watched their opportunities and at a narrow passe got old Horne [sic] and Duvalt with their forces at an advantage and without striking stroke tooke them both prisoners with all their Canon and baggage. And brought their two Commaunders & other Officers Prisoners to Prague to Walleston, thinking to have had great praise & thankes of their Generall. This had like to have bred a Skarre and troubled Walleston much, for Saxon & the Sweve sent presently post to Walleston to tell hym that this did not savour of good dealing, and that hee ment otherwise then hee said, in tyme of Truce to take their Commaunders Prisoners. Hee sent them word that it was not with his f. 34. commaund and they should see hee would punish them for their rashnesse and so hee put Showcoats<sup>3</sup> in Prison, and they said hee cut of his head for doing that hee did without commaund. Don Baltazar hee had some other plots upon hym and therefore would not correct hym so sharply, but chid hym a little, but it showed hee was a good souldier, (quoth hee) and carefull of his charge : but that hee was a little too rash without commaund and made very much of hym & said the Emp<sup>r</sup> should thanke hym. Old Count Thorne & Duvalt had leave to walke the street, and so by little & little stole away to their charge againe and had secret restitution of what had bene taken from them.

Walleston in the meane tyme beeing at Prague swore all the nobility and Commaunders, and calling a Councell of Warre the nobilitie & Commaunders and as many as hee could get, hee swore to hymself. The most of greater sort it seemes knew his intention but the rest not. Those of trustiest Councell were Count Terksa, Count felo,<sup>4</sup> Count Kinkskey, Count Niman & others more, these were men according to his owne heart. Gallas and Picolominie were not men of his Privy Councell though hee tilled them on

<sup>1</sup> Chemnitz, quoted by Förster *Wallenstein* p. 215, estimates the loss in men caused by this 'truce' at 12000.

<sup>2</sup> Schafigotsch.

<sup>3</sup> Schafigotsch was really executed (*Theatrum Europ.*, iii, 184 and 507) as an adherent of Wallensteins long afterwards.

<sup>4</sup> Illo : the name is variously spelt. Illow is probably the original form : he was a Pomeranian or Marker. In Spanish documents of the time he appears as Lilo. Ranke, *Wallenstein*, App. III. 4. p. 371.



- with hym with good words and deeds, but whether they knew any thing certaine then, or only suspected things and went with hym along for feare, is vncertaine. But his onely maister-piece was how to get in Don Baltazar ye Spaniard, which hee tryed to doe very politickly, as you shall heare. Taking occasion to discourse with Don Baltazar of Honours the now Emp<sup>r</sup> had bestowed on seuerall persons in this tyme of warres, naming many that were not worthy of that honour they had : at length said there was one who better deserved Honour then the best of all and quoth hee
- f. 34 b. whether it bee out of modestie, or humility or pride never seeks after any. Baltazar wondering who that should bee, Walleston said it was hymself. Baltazar said hee was contented. It was enough for hym to doe well for it was his duty to his maister the Emp<sup>r</sup>. Quoth Walleston, I love you so well, as I will whilst I am in Office, that you make vse of it, and you shall finde it : and all that I can doe for you is that the Emp<sup>r</sup>. bestow some honour on you, and that I thinke hee will doe at my request, and if it please you, quoth hee, to take my Letter with you and make a iourney to the Court, your labour will bee well payed. Don Baltazar modestly refused it, but must needs accept of his kind offer, the next day hee was to have Walleston his Letter and came for it, and because you shall know, quoth hee, what you carry, made his owne Secretary to read it : the effect of it was to desire his Ma<sup>ty</sup> in lieu of Don Baltazars many services to make hym a Duke with wonderfull praises of his valour and Vertue &c. hee set his hand to it in his presence & sealed before them but it was so finely handled that Walleston popt an other Letter into Don Baltazar his hand of an other content : which was that Don Baltazar had bene earnest with hym to write in his behalf to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> to bestow on hym the Honour of a Duke, for his faithfull service : that was all hee requested. Hee did confesse to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> that hee did deserve it well but at this tyme hee besought his Ma<sup>ty</sup> to hold his hands till these troublesome Warres were over, for quoth Walleston, I find by experience that after one hath gotten such honour on theyr backes, they grow troublesome to the Generall and will not bee ruled but ready to rise in rebellion against hym and hee could not
- f. 35. keep them in aw as before, and that hee would bee pleased to pvt hym of to some other tyme with some good answeare or other. So Walleston delivered the Letter to the Don, with a Kisse in reverence of the Emp<sup>r</sup> & the other receaved it with the like. Walleston desirous to heare of his successe at his leasurable returne, away went the Don with his Encomiendum verily expecting hee should bee a present Duke. And the Emp<sup>r</sup> was willing

enough to doe hym that honour & more for hee loved hym very well, & knew Don Baltazar loved hym as well; and that hee was a good souldier & had donne hym brave & faithfull service and a good and Vertuous man besides notwithstanding hee was and must bee ruled by his Generall especially thinges standing as they did. But welcomed Don Baltazar very kindly, and promised hym faithfully that if hee would but stay his leasure a little while, hee would finde out both honour & that which should support that honour besides and so the Emp<sup>r</sup> meant indeed. Don Baltazar with these kinde words from the Emp<sup>r</sup> hymself went away very well satisfied and after comming to Walleston the first thing Walleston said to hym, I doe not doubt but I may give you the ioy of your new Honour hee had from the Emp<sup>r</sup>; who answered hym no: that the Emp<sup>r</sup> was very busie, but that hee would doe it an other tyme, wherein hee would load hym with honour & Revenews, with that Walleston gave a great stamp on the ground tearing his heire and swearing a great Othe Who would serve such a simple Emperour that knew not to whome to bestow his honour, nor will not believe his Generall who is a continuall ey-witnesse in the field of souldiers merits or demerits, and you especially that have donne hym such honourable and faithfull service and not to gratifie you with so small a request, the dishonour hee hath donne to you in it is the more, because the whole Camp taketh notice of it, and will the more when they see & heare you returne without your desert and will despise you as a man of little merit hereafter, your owne souldiers will hardly obey you; and for my owne part I my self am deeply disgraced in it, for what will not others under mee [be] ready to contemne mee when they see mee of so little credit with the Emp<sup>r</sup>, that I can not get honour to be bestowed on them that so well deserve it. How many Counts and Dukes hath hee made of those who have nether Vertue, valour nor Nobility of blood in them, onely come to it by flattery, with these and the like words when hee found hee had set Don Baltazar on fire, and as hee thought sensible of his disgrace—Come, come, quoth hee, follow my advise, Don Baltazar, and bee ruled by mee & bee true to mee, I will make you greater then a Duke, wee will make hym sensible of his wrong hee doth to well deserving men; and so vttered to hym his secret conspiracie. The Spanyard amazed at it within hymself on the suddaine, yet finding hymself within his Clawes and what danger hee was in, if hee did not show hymself somewhat plyant to the Traytour, seemed to follow hym in his wicked devise, whether hee swore hym to secrecie or no I know not, but Walleston thought that hee

f. 35 b.

was sure of hym and so beeing to goe to Pilson beeing in his way to Aegra hee called hym to goe along with hym thither. But Don Baltazar found many excuses of delay that hee could not so presently goe, but all excuses apart hee would bee with hym,  
 f. 36. within two or 3 dayes without faile, after hee had given order for all things that his souldiers might come after hym in good equipage.

So away went Walleston with a goodly Army towards Pilson and great store of Canon as if hee had gonne to a Battaile, which Pilson was ten Leagues from Prague. Don Baltazar so soone as hee was gonne had no intention to bee caughted in a Trap, and loose his head as hee thought many more would doe, that went with hym after hee had once got them in a Stronghold as Pilson was. But at length bethought hymself and sent away a Post to the Court to informe the Emp<sup>r</sup> of what had passed betwixt Walleston and hym : but hee could not bee believed thinking hee had spoken out of malice, having heard of Walleston his letter to the Emp<sup>r</sup> to put hym by his Dukeship.

In the meane tyme there hapned a thyng of great importance and it seemes it was Gods will, which certainly confirmed Don Baltazar his Information to discover the Treason. Walleston had left no device untryed publique & private to bringe his ends to passe, for among other his Commaunders hee had dispersed to bee billited abroad one was Coronell Shaffenberg,<sup>1</sup> who had a Regiment of a thousand Corasiers, whome hee had billited in the suburbes of Vienna, and gave hym comāund to try as hansomly as hee could without suspicion to have their Quarter in the Towne itself, which hee tryed, but could not obtaine it, but had a distastfull answeare from the Emp<sup>r</sup> saying have I not a Country wide enough to lodge Souldiers in but I must quarter them in the Towne where I Keep my Court. This put the Emp<sup>r</sup> into some suspicion, yet this was but light suspicion. But at last the Coronell  
 f. 36 b. as hee was instructed saw hee could not get leave as hee hoped, tooke an other politique course which was, that at severall tymes and severall gates one by one and by two at a tyme had brought in 4 or 500 which hee had lodged in od places of the Towne and private Innes and houses upon his owne Charge, thinking when hee saw his opportunity to make a generall massacre upon the suddaine of the Emp<sup>r</sup>, his Sonnes Wives and children and of all the Court, and if need were of all the Cittizens : and the Coronell hymself got and lay in the Towne and was very Jouiall vp and

<sup>1</sup> Schaffenberg or Schaffenburg.

downe every day in the Towne spending his Money with companie at Tavernes. And one day, beeing foxt at a Taverne, one of his Pages had angered hym, in that heat that hee beat the boy beyond measure, and kicked hym downe the staires the noyse was very loud, that drew the hosts eare to the Starefoot to see what it was, where hee met the page coming, crying and cursing his maister down the staires, and by God (quoth the Page), it should bee the dearest beating to hym that ever his maister gave in his life ; for hee could reveale that which would hang hym. The Host heard hym say so, pittied the boy & I thinke made his head to bee washed for it was bloody and had hym into an other roome and cherished hym, and bemoaned hym, till hee had got out as much as hee could tell. The host a good sensible man, thought this was not to bee neglected for some thing was suspected before, but they could not finde it out, what it should bee : the host hastened to the Spanish Embassadours who lay not far from hym and hee had some credit besides in the house and was presently admitted to his presence ; who told hym what had bene disclosed by a sory boy and upon what occasion. The Embassadour bid hym go home and make f. 37 much of the boy and keep hym safe from his maister, and in that tyme hee went hymself and informed the Emperour. The Emp<sup>r</sup> presently sent part of his Guard who beset the Taverne and with the help of the host entred and tooke the Coronell Prisoner, and them that were with hym. The Citty gates were shut up and the Cittizens presently in Armes and a generall search thorough out all the Cittie, where they found all as the boy had discovered, and all the souldiers with their horses in every place were snapt up, those that were not entred but lay in the suburbs especially the officers fled one one way and an other an other when they heard what was doing within. The priuate souldiers were pardoned and altering their Comaunders were sent to the Campe. The Coronell without much adoe confest the Treason, whereupon Te Deum was presently sung vp and downe the streets in procession for so miraculous an escape of the Emp<sup>r</sup> & his issue.

But in the meane while Walleston beeing come to Pilson and having sent for Aldringer the Generall of Bauier<sup>1</sup> his Army to come to hym as hee had promised, but hee thought hym long, quoth Gallas, I wonder hee cometh not I pray God all bee well, I could find in my heart to goe see what makes hym stay so long and fetch hym least hee should bee turned from us, and then wee are spoiled. Walleston consented and away hee went, but hee had

<sup>1</sup> Bavier for Bavaria. Fr : Bavière.

- not rid a league or two but hee met with Aldringer. This was ioyfull to Gallas, turned hym againe & away they both rid posting to Vienna. Picolominie all this while sate upon thornes studying how to get away, envying Gallas his escape but yet hee hoped well for hee made horses bee layed for hym every five miles if hee
- f. 37 b. should have that good lucke to escape and so it fell out well for hym, for Walleston beeing in his Chamber with many Comaunders was speaking of removing to Aegre from Pilson but hee onely stayed for Aldringer and Don Baltazar, quoth Picolominie, Gallas will bringe the one presently and if it please your Highnesse I will fetch the other I warrant you in an instant. No saith Walleston it shall not I thinke greatly need for heele come of hymself. Picolominie replied no more but tooke leave of hym and went out of his presence without contradicting hym, and so with his two Pages got to horse : but the Watche would have stayd hym but hee answered I come now from his Highnesse, and so they let hym passe : hee was no small ioyfull man and rid soundly till hee got to the Court where hee met with Gallas coming post to proclayme Walleston and after hee had kissed the Emp<sup>r</sup>s hands &c. with thanks for both their fidelities in that extremitie that hee found some that would sticke to hym, away they came post backe againe proclayming Walleston Traytour all the Way and all that tooke his part and such forces as they could get together came marching after them. Walleston then repented but to late y<sup>t</sup> hee had bene so foolish to let those two so madly to escape : began to say this Towne was too weake for hym to stay in, hee would in all hast to Aegra where shortly hee should find strength enough, for there was the Sweues Army, the Saxons Army and Walleston his owne forces to ioyne together, and though his plots were discovered hee had forces enough to come to his designe, and so in all hast away hee went to Aegra leaving sixty pieces of Artillery behind hym upon the Market place, and also a Garrison and hymself guarded with 5 Regiments viz. Count Terskies, Count felos,
- f. 38. Butler, Nymans, Kinskey ; but Butler would faine have bene gonne but could not. But before Walleston could get within two Leagues of Aegre Picolominie was at his heeles chargeing the rere of those five Regiments, where was a sharp encounter for three or fower howers and there were slayne on both sides 2000 Men. The Regiments had so many Dragoniers amongst them that gauled Picolominies horse extreemely that hee was glad to retreat. Gallas with most part of his Army hee had drawne together came to Pilson and showing his Patent of his new Authority from the Emp<sup>r</sup>, the Governour obeyed hym and rendred up the Keyes.

Butler was mad with hymself that hee could not get away as Gallas & Picolominie and with all that hee must fight on the way to defend hymself with those hee loved and were his frends, but yet hee was studying all the way how to doe mischief & some brave exploit to bee talked on and it succeeded to his desire as it doth follow: Walleston was glad hee was got into this Towne and presently sent to Duke Saxe<sup>1</sup> and to Duke Weymar to desire them to draw nere their forces as they could to the Towne and so they did. Then they began to treate where hee should bee lodged. The Castle was motioned for hym, but the Governour excused it and sayd it was full of his trash and trumpery, that hee dwelt there & his houshold and was not fitting for his Highnesse beeing so sluttish, then it was appointed that his Highnesse should ly upon the Market-place where were goodly Lodgings. The Coronels themselves as Tersky and Butler &c were lodged in the Towne with their Captaines &c. But all their companies without the City, none of the vinited Princes would trust themselves within the City Walles. But Count Butler was with child till hee vented f. 38 b. his plot which hee had bene hatching on all the way hee came to the Towne, and so in all hast hee went to the Castle to the Governour whose name was Gordon his old acquaintance A Scottish-man and hymself Irish and tooke with hym Cap<sup>n</sup> Edmond Burke, Cap<sup>n</sup> Walter Devreux and Cap<sup>n</sup> Denis and found with the Governour onely Lasly his Sergeant Maior. They had not bene long togeather but Butler tooke hym apart, and told hym of all particulars and what had happened before their comming to the Towne, and how that Gallas & Picolominie had got out of the Nett and had bene at the Court, and opened all Walleston his Treason and that they were both come backe in post with speciall commission to proclayme Walleston Traytour and all his followers: and so they had already vs<sup>2</sup> all the way they went, and withall how Picolominie had followed them so hard that there had bene a sharpe encounter very bloody on both sides before they could get into the Towne, and quoth hee, I had not the happines as they had to get away nor could by any meanes, but was constrayned to fight to save our selves as wee came along though it was against them I loved which was Picolominie and in hym against my maister the Emp<sup>r</sup>. Now so it is I am proclaymed Traytour by name and my Wife & children and all the wealth I have ly in Austria, which I know will presently fall into destruction and ransacking. I have bene considering how to redeeme my self out of this misery which must bee

<sup>1</sup> Francis Albert of Saxe Lauenburg.

<sup>2</sup> ? viz.

- donne suddainely and which with your good help may bee donne with ease, otherwise wee all perish, you yourself also and therefore doe not lightly thinke of what I shall tell you. And if wee doe it,
- f. 39. as it is very easie to bee donne, but not without your helpe wee shall not onely save ourselves but make ourselves a perpetuall name to Posterity, and make ourselves and our posterity as wealthy as the world can make us. The Governour was on fire till hee heard what hee could say, with promise of furtherance what lay in hym. The case is thus. You see this great Generall is poursued for a Traitor and so hee well deserves, who would bee the ruine of all Christendome and the Emperour his maister who hath raised hym to this height that his proud and ambitions Mynd hath carryed hym to make hymself Emp<sup>r</sup>, and hee hath layd a stronge foundation, that I doe not see how hee can bee prevented but by this way ; hither hee is come with a World of wealth, and hath all Princes of the Vnions strength to support hym, which ioyned with all the Emp<sup>m</sup> forces at his comāund ; nothing can hinder his designe but the taking of hym out of the way. And if you will bee ruled by mee it shall bee donne without any noise for if you will but make a great supper and feast and invite hym and his 4 or 5 Counts who are his owne heart, wee will kill them all at the feast & then the deed is donne. If they will not bee catched so with your strength beeing Governour of the Towne, and my trusty Rogers<sup>1</sup> I will employ in it, wee will doe it in their owne lodgings where they ly, that surely they shall not escape. The Generalls of the Princes will not bee brought in they are afraid of Walleston hymself, and keep in their Armies without for all his protestations & faire promises to them. And then hee pulled out a Letter of his pocket which hee by chance had intercepted which Walleston had sent to Saxes Marshall of the field that hee did but stay till hee had got all the Emp<sup>m</sup> Commaunders togeather at Aegra that hee might cut of their heads for hee knew they never
- f. 39 b. would bee faithfull to hym, and therefore quoth hee the best way is and surest to begin first with hym having the fox now in the Trap, that hee could not possibly escape their hands. The Governour liked his plot wonderfull well and was as much forward as Butler. And withall such rewards promised to hym that could bring his head. So it was concluded betwixt them that Gordon should invite all these Coronels with Walleston their Generall to a supper at the Castle the Governours house. The old fox would not bee catched whether out of feare of danger those feasts commonly

<sup>1</sup> Rogues. (?)

bring with them, or that hee was weary as hee said hee was, and would goe to bed, and indeed I thynke hee was weary, & sory in mynde that hee begun it, seeing it was discovered before it was thorough ripe. But to bed hee did goe. The Nobility accepted of it and promised to come, a great supper was providing &c. In the meane tyme Butler thinking what might fall to hym and his by beeing proclaymed Traytour got a trusty messenger and sent hym away at a backe Posterne Gate with a Letter in all hast to Gallas & Picolominie at Pilson with their forces there. The effect thereof was ; that they knew his poore heart and love to his maister the Emp<sup>r</sup>, and withall how impossible a thing it was for hym to get out of Walleston his fingers, though they had so good lucke therein as they had, and how that they had proclaymed hym Traitor with the rest : therefore hee did desire them that his Wife & children might not suffer in this busines, till they heard from hym which would not bee long and to redeeme this disgrace hee would present them with the Traitours head. This Letter was very welcome to them for they loved Butler well and knew withall if hee undertooke such a busines hee would doe it.

So now to our Governour & Butler who followed their businesses close. Gordon not trusting his owne souldiers who were all f. 40. Germans, advised Butler to bring in as many of his Irish as hee could without suspicion & to lodge them here & there, and their boys to bring in their horses by one & by two but unsaddled to bring them<sup>1</sup> an other tyme in. Butler trusted none but his Irish and not all of them nether, knowing what they should doe : evening growing on the nobility came as they promised to supper to the Castle ; at the Bridge they were met with Gordon and Butler & lighting from their Coaches were led up to their supper, where was a sumptuous roome adorned in all the state that could bee : none was suffred to come into the Castle with them but two Pages and their Coach and horses in the Castle-yard. Butler had two Irish Captaines wayting on hym as Edmond Burke<sup>2</sup> & Denys. Gordon onely his Sergeant Maior Lasly. A hundred Irish souldiers were brought in in private. At the nobilities entrance they were presented with Wines and other Junkets till supper was ready, Gordon & Butler drinking with them and very merily talking sometymes of the sharp & hot encounter they had had with Picolominie &c. The gates of the Castle were shut up and

<sup>1</sup> ? the saddles. According to Carve (*Itinerarium*, ed. 1, p. 107), who seems to have been in Eger the night of the murder, the whole number of conspirators was thirty : two Scots, one Spaniard and the rest Irish.

<sup>2</sup> For Burke and his honourable conduct cf. Harte, ii, p. 53.



the Draw-Bridge pulled up, so when they had all things thus sure, up came their supper a very stately one and supper was past with great mirth ; Butler playd upon them in his Irish which none of them understood and bid Denys goe to the Castle top and turne the Canon upon that Traytours lodging and breake hym & his lodging to pieces meaning Walleston with many such iests in Irish. Supper beeing donne then came a banquet in ; but by the way the Chamber had two doores one on the right hand and the other on the left, upon ether dore was comaunded 50 Musquetiers to attend and so soone as Butler should cry Vive Ferdinando in should the

f. 40 b. Muskets come & discharge upon their Guests. During this feast many healths went round and merrily, nay quoth Butler I will begin one health and beeing a great cup spoke to Count Kinsky, and said it should bee the Emperours health. The Count skorned hee said to pledge, and Butler would prove a Villaine, with that Butler threw the cup and drinke in Count Kinskys face, and with a styletto hee had by his side presently stabbed Kinsky, and so they grappled and skuffled almost to the ground but the stab did not kill hym, for Butler stricke his hand upon the Table and cryed with a loud voice *Viva Ferdinando* whereupon presently stept in the Musquetiers at ether dore and all the Nobility were presently stricke downe Pages & all. This donne presently Butler called for his Irish to goe along with hym with all speed with their naked swords and Pistols in their hands and with Partizans and Holbards to Walleston his Quarter where hee lay.

Whilest this slaughter was in hand above, a Captaine of a hundred Dragoniers on horse-backe was comaunded to ride up and downe every street to keep in the Cittizens in their houses, but hee found all very still.

Butler coming nere Walleston his Quarter, the Sentinell who stood to gard Wallestons doore cryed *Qui va la*, Butler answered the Round ; the Sentinell calling to his Officer to give the word to the head round. Then Butler called for the Lieutenant of the Gard before Wallestons doore who was one vnder Gordons Regiment, who coming Butler bid hym lay downe his Armes who obeyed knowing Butler to bee a Comaunder and so disarmed all the rest that had the gard there. But Walleston hearing some noyse before his Window below comaunded his two Gentlemen

f. 41. Pages who nightly lay in his chamber with hym to goe see what noyse it was below : in the meane tyme Butler had comaunded Walter Devreux with 6 Halberdiers and a Partizan in his hand to goe up & kill Walleston, who going up the staires at the head thereof met with one of Wallestons Gentlemen of his Chamber

come newly out to see what noyse it was. At whome Devreux stabbed & killed hym: the other within seeing that clapped to the dore Walleston cryed out hee would hang that Bestia that made such a noyse with the dore, but Devreux beeing a strong lusty man running with his foot at the the dore burst it open and stabbed the other Page and found Walleston hymself in his shirt running to the Window to call to the Guard. But seeing Devreux with his Partizan and Halberdiers after hym began to reach at his Pistols which hung upon the Wall. But Devreux at his comming in cryed Sa sa sa Traytour thou must dy and pierced hym with his Partizan on the left side hauing giuen hym also two Wounds on the body and one in the necke, hee fell to the ground, not saying one word but gave a great groane as if the Deuill had gonne out of hym, and presently drew hym out by the heeles, his head knocking vpon every stare all bloody and threw hym into a Coach, and carryed hym to the Castle where the rest lay naked close together for the souldiers that watched them had stripped them and there hee had the superiour place of them beeing the right hand file, which they could not doe lesse, beeing so great a Generall. His lodgings and Treasures were all locked up till the Emp<sup>rs</sup> pleasure f. 41 b. was knowne.

Butler & Gordon were no small proud men to see their plot take so good successe, and with so little noise that the ennemy without heard nothing of it till the next day. This newes was very crosse to them when they heard it, and made Saxon much discontented; but Duke Weymar was glad to heare it finding such a Mutiny in the Emp<sup>rs</sup> Army, one Coronell against an other, hee might the easilyer destroy them all. But finding all their plot by his death was broken & yt there was no good to be donne with staying there, having there lost all this tyme rose with their Armyes & away they went to take the opportunity of this fraction; to Ratisbone otherwise Regensburg and by force of Armes tooke it, and killing all before them, onely reserving the Nunnes for their lust, and the fryars to abuse by dismembring them &c. and deflowring Nunnes upon their Altars with all the skorne that could bee inuented, from thence hee broke up leaving a strong Garrison, and fortifying it far better then before with great fortresses, that it was held almost invincible, tooke his march towards Austria and so to the City of Stroubin which lyeth betwixt Bavaria & Austria & beleaguered it shooting night & day with his Canons into the Towne, made a breach, entred by force, killing man Woman & child making great pillage and booty leauing a Garrison broke up from thence thinking to take his way to Passo. These townes

were of great consequence to them and on the other side hindring all passage upon the River of Danubius even to Vienna.

- f. 42. This Passo was the very entrance into Austria. Bavaria's Generall Aldringer waited on hym as neere as hee could thereabout, and guessing which way hee would goe and of his Intention; so beset the passages thereabout that Weymar on the suddaine was very much bestreitned ; that hee was faine to pitch downe his Leaguer betwixt Stroubin and Passo and mayntaine those Townes hee had got beeing of such consequence.

- A little backe to Walleston whose Pockets beeing searched they found a Letter wherein Duke Robert,<sup>1</sup> Saxons field marshall had promised Walleston hee would come to hym such a day, whereupon the Governour & Butler sent 50 Dragoniers to meet hym, hee not knowing what had happened to Walleston, begun to aske how Walleston did thinking they onely had bene sent to bring hym in safely but they told hym, Walleston was a Traitor and all that held with hym, no excuses but hee must goe with them & so hee was brought Prisoner to the Governour who entertayned hym very nobly, and showed hym the dead Corps of the great Generall & his trusty Counsellours, where they lay naked onely sheetes to cover their Nakednesse, which sight strucke the poore Duke into a suddaine dump thinking hee should have kept their Company, but they perceaved it and put hym out of that feare. But the next day all those bodies were put into Waggones and with a good Convoy were sent with the Duke new taken Prisoner to Gallas & f. 42 b. the Army, and so conveyed to Vienna. Where their bodies were hanged upon a Gallows for a shamefull sight of an vngratefull man to a maister that had raised hym to that height. It was said his frends with much adoe got leave to bury his body but withall that there<sup>2</sup> should have his Armes hang vp a Reverse and an engrave-ment under them of his foule act and great Ingratitude to posterity. In the meane tyme Butler, Gordon, Devreux, Lasly, Denys Burke Garoldine were all sent for to the Emperour, beeing all Irish but two Scots Gordon and Lasly where they were royally entertayned & feasted by the Nobility especially Butler and Gordon who had the honour to Kisse the Empresse hand with great applause of their fidelity, and euery one had a chayne of gold put upon his necke with the Emperours picture thereon : and the Empresse tyed favours to every one : and at their departure loaden with honours and meanes : hereupon the Irish grew into such credit at the Court and puffed them up so high that vnder that colour great

<sup>1</sup> An error for (Francis) Albert.

<sup>2</sup> ? they.

disorders were committed by many base people of that Nation which had crept in to the Court, and winked at.

Infinite was the wealth that Walleston brought to Aegra in sylver and gold [ ] millions besides Rings, Pearles and precious stones, gold Chaines, sylver Vessell & plate besides sylver spits and other Kitchen Implements of sylver innumerable all which was given them by the Emp<sup>r</sup> onely somewhat the Emp<sup>r</sup> reserved for hymself which was not much, the rest was at their retorne divided among them and I my self was an ey-witnesse of the diuision among them : and so I will leave hym.

The Emperour though God had rid hym of many mightie f. 43.  
 Ennemies contrary to humane expectation as the late King of Bohemia : the King of Swevia and last of all his owne servant (then which there is none more dangerous) yet the dregs of those great Princes were left behind I meane their Generalls and their forces, and they were so strong that troubled hym horribly for they had lately taken under his nose two or 3 great Townes of Danubius of great importance as Reinsberg, Stroobing, Passo, &c. Gallas and Picolominie had donne as much as could bee to quiet and bring againe into order those Imperiall forces which were so distracted by Walleston his rebellion : yet the Emp<sup>r</sup> learned by Walleston his Treachery not to bestow to much honour upon a subject in making any Generalissimo againe : thought best to employ his owne Sonne the King of Hongary who was growne to mans estate, and had bene in the Warres : so invested his Sonne with the Authority of General. And so taking a solemne leave of the Emp<sup>r</sup> and Empresse his father and mother with their benediction, and the Queene of Hongarie his Wife with many teares and generall Prayers thorough the Citty for his good successe and happie retorne marched thorough Bohemia and part of Austria for by Danubius hee could convey nothing downe the River : Duke Weymar had stopped the passage. At length by laborious marches hee came to Reinsburg which hee found to bee wonderfull strong. whither came Bavaria with 40 thousand men : it standing hym vpon now to iest no more having so dearly payed for his neutrality and consentment to bring in the Sweve ;<sup>1</sup> and there the King and the Duke set downe their Armies about the Towne and strongly entrenched themselves. Duke Weymar expecting such a thing had long stayed there about with his f. 43 b.  
 Army and fortifying the Towne with what art and Invention could doe to make them invincible. The Imperiall Army with Bavarias

<sup>1</sup> He is confused with the Elector of Brandenburg. See Introduction.

was thought to bee nere a hundred thousand strong : Duke Weymar had a bout with them seeking to hinder their entrenchments and sharp fights there was and bloody, the Towne sallying out on the one side and the Duke Weymar on the other that they did great hurt to the Imperialists, but seeing hee was not able to deale with two so great Armies and hauing a repulse retreated. But withall encouraging the Towne to hold out and hee would shortly bee with them with a greater Army : his departure did daunt the Cittizens, notwithstanding they tooke courage and swore one to the other that they would dy in the cause rather then yield to the King having 20000 souldiers of the Sweves with amunition and provision for them besides the Cittizens were 5000 well armed and good souldiers and defended the City most bravely sallying out every day and did much hurt to the contrary part. But the King of Hongary approaching nearer & nearer every night came with in a Musquet shot of the great Skonce which lay betweene the Bridge and the Emp<sup>m</sup> Army. The King comaunded old Coronel Brinar<sup>1</sup> with his 1000 Musquetiers to assault the said Skonce where lay 500 Musquetiers also, who fiercely assaulting it, was beaten of the first, second and third tyme. The Coronell hymself was sore wounded and lost many a brave fellow besides. Then was Coronell Inyon with his thousand and fresh Musquetiers, commaunded to second hym. The Towne did the like seconding the Skonce with fresh souldiers. But Coronell Inyon would not bee beaten backe but in despite of them entred part of their workes and filled them vp, at length the

f. 44. Coronell was felled with a hand-Granado and beaten out of the worke againe but hee not discouraged made an other assault though hee was sorely wounded before, the more hee saw his blood the fiercer hee was and with all had his Jawe-bone with a partizan cut in pieces yet this Inyon entred & slew all the 500 souldiers that were in the Skonce and the Officers retreating to the Bridge hee poursued them to the very foot thereof : but the Towne seeing the distresse sallyed out with fresh souldiers and at the foot of the Bridge made a stand and if young Colorado had not come in with a thousand fresh Musquetiers they had recovered the Skonce againe they lay so heavy on them.

So having got the Skonce the King sent them more souldiers to maintayne it and presently turned the Canons of the Skonce upon the Towne and beat the Cittizens from the foot of the Bridge backe into the Towne and kept the Bridge also. And vpon

<sup>1</sup> Breuner, *Theatr. Eur.*, 3, p. 285 a. His regiment was known as *Alt Breuner, Theatr. Eur.*, 3, p. 283 a.

the right hand of the Bridge lay an Iland whereon was two Skonces manned with 500 Cittizens and 500 Sweves, which lay betweene in the River & the Towne : but the King having gotten the great Skonce thought hymself not safe till hee had got these other Skonces in, sent 5 or 600 Musquetiers with their Comaunders to assault the said Skonces having made Bridges upon Boats for 3 or 4 men to passe in a ranke, beeing brought downe the river of Danubius above fifty of them ready covered with planchers ready nailed on downe the River in the night right over against the Skonces where our forces did wayte their comming, and the Boats beeing made fast, presently passed many souldiers over but not without the losse of many, and beeing come over assaulted the Skonces very fiercely, but beaten of the first and second tyme, but sending fresh ayde upon aide at length tooke them in killing f. 44 b. all therein. The Towne playing mightily upon vs that wee could not abide therein, no not so much as peep but were cut of and the next night were faine to retreate from the Skonces and shelter our selves in many old houses which were in the Iland, which the souldiers and Cittizens had defaced and thereby kept the Cittizens from entring the Skonces againe. But it seemes the Governour of the Towne sent in private to Duke Weymar to challenge his promise to relieve them and to tell hym in what distresse they were in and could not hold out long. The King having taken their Skonces and Bridge and besides having made so many breaches into the Towne, though they had often beaten them of, yet they could not endure many more assaults : the Cittizens and souldiers beeing many of them slayne and the rest tyred out and wearied with continuall fighting and watching and their Amunition growing very short with continuall shooting Duke Weymar and Gustavus Horne the Swevish Generall got all their forces togeather and ioyned them in one body and in all hast marched from Miniken which lyeth in Bauaria towards vs afore Reinspurb and comming by the City of Lansfort<sup>1</sup> lying betwixt Austria & Bauaria would needs venture vpon that by the way, hearing it was rich, whereof the King and the Duke hearing was loath it should fall into their hands, commaunded presently all the Dragoniers in both Armies to march away beeing 20 thousand in number, if it were possible to save the Towne. But the Sweves were long there before our forces could come & had battered ye Towne & the Castle extreamely and had taken in a Skonce or two one after an f. 45. other and after much battery had entred the Castle killing all

<sup>1</sup> Landshut.

therein Aldringer who had the leading of our forces and Bauarias Generall, and hee who so bravely came of with Tillies body, as I have told you before entred the Towne with as many horse as hee could but the Towne was little that horsemen could doe no good & there was no roome upon the Market-place to fight but for 2000 horse that all our Army could doe vs no succour but onely stood aloofe without the Towne. But Duke Weymar having got the Castle came powdring downe the Hill upon us with all his forces, therefore the fight was very cruell and bloody and in that fight Aldringer was slayne, Coronell Henderson<sup>1</sup> a Scottish man was taken Prisoner and the Kings forces were forced to retreat but with great losse and so the Ennemy got the Towne and pillaged it; in the Abbies and Cloisters they found much wealth every body strove to bring their wealth thither for safety. But they kept old racket among the fryars and nunnes dismembring the Priests & deflowring the nunnes; where they found great provision for their Army and the Towne rich kept them 4 or 5 dayes in pillageing the covetousnesse whereof made them stay so long there that the Towne of Regensburg was delivered up to the King before Weymar could come with his Army. At the length when Duke Weymar and his souldiers had glutted themselves with pillage away they marched. But the Cittizens the very same day hee set forward in despaire of his comming made their owne peace with the King. The souldiers to depart with bag and baggage, flying colours, Bullet ith mouth and burning matches and to bee convoyed as far as Norinberg. The Cittizens to have their pardon and Religion free for forty yeares.

f. 45 b. But Weymar drawing nigh to it and not hearing the Canon play continually imagined the Towne was delivered as it was, then did hee curse the Towne where hee had stayd so long for a little pray and at last hearing it to bee certainly true by some Prisoners hee tooke, broke up and retreated with his Army.

Our side hearing of his so nere approach sent out to fight with hym, but hee was gonne, neverthelesse our horse followed at the heeles with many light skirmishes hee seeing the Army come fast upon hym marched away with all speed hee could; and yt hee might march the more speedily from the Ennemy, sunk many of his Canons in the River of Lake<sup>2</sup> with many Wagons loaden with

<sup>1</sup> This cannot be the Henderson who commanded the Scottish reserves at Lützen, but an Imperialist officer who was afterwards employed to treat with Bernhard of Weimar. Barthold, i, p. 218. Monro calls him simply John Henderson. Grant makes him 'Sir John' (*Memoirs of Hepburn*, p. 256).

<sup>2</sup> Lech.

powder, bullets and match that they might not fall into the Ennemies hands but wee tooke many Prisoners and followed hym so hard thinking hee would have turned and fought with vs: but hee never stayed till hee came to the Cittie of Norling where hee made a stand: but the King seeing hee would not fight turned to the Cittie of Donwart which the Sweue had formerly taken and left therein a Regiment of a thousand Musquetiers the Commaunder thereof was a Scottish Man called Coronell Trup.<sup>1</sup> But Coronell Struts<sup>2</sup> having marched a nerer way had beleagred Donwart before the King came and shot a breach therein and had demanded the delivery of the Towne two or three tymes, at length tooke in the Towne by force before the King came, killed all that resisted, man Woman & Childe: then came the King and finding the Towne taken praised the Generalls speed and diligence and left him Governour there as hee deserved and away hee marched following Duke Weymar to Norling where wee must leave hym a while & f. 46. speake some thinge of the Duke of Bavaria.

The Duke of Bavaria, it is generally spoken & I have related before, certainly was discontented with the rest of the Princes of the Vnion and had his hand in the sending for the King of Sweue-land with promise to send hym Men and mony in at his Landing. But repenting it seemes sent hym nether at his Landing, nor sent to congratulate as others did; which the King as it is said forgot not when hee was in his hieght for they said the King should say when hee was come as low as Westphalia that seeing the Duke of Bauaria would nether send nor come to hym, hee would vouchsafe both to send & come to hym and that it was no marvaile hee had broken his Word with hym seeing hee had donne the like before to the Emp<sup>r</sup> Ferdinande and to the King of Bohemia that late was and so true to none and the King of Sweue kept his word with hym and that soundly for before hee came hymself hee billited most of his Souldiers in his Country: which storme hee forseeing coming upon hym, wisely declyned it as much as in hym lay, and although hee could not remove his Country, nor hide it from the furious Tempest, but that it must fall upon it, yet hee hymself with his Dutchesse & household and all such as had no mynd to suffer drew themselves as far from it as they could, and so with what baggage as was portable as Jewells, Money and other Treasures fled to the Mountaynes and into Austria and left the rest to the Conquerour to whome it was no great labour to maister it, all

<sup>1</sup> Troup: 'William Troope killed in the Pfalz,' *Monro*.

<sup>2</sup> Strozzi. He can hardly have been left as governor. *Barthold*, i, p. 175. He was commander of Croats with Isolani.



- f. 46 b. yielding to hym as I have showed you before. Only Ingolstad hee left soundly manned & provided of what Nature & Art could invent to stand against a 1000 strong and yet that wee may know how subject to mutability and infirmenesse these worldly things are that let all the Wit and deuce of men bee put together fortune will have a deuce to overthrow for as you have heard the weaknesse and faint-heart of a base Governour had brought all these preparations to naught, if God had not prevented it. But as I say the Duke of Bavaria for all the devastation of his Country which the King made hee hymself carried away a World of Treasure with hym : for hee was riche, that if fortune did but smile a little upon hym againe as Nullum violentum est durable, no violent thing can continue long, hee might bee able to recover hymself and his Country. And so though after Tillies first overthrow hee was never able to bandy in open field with the King of Sweveland but flying from hym, yet hee kept always a running Army upon foot which Army if it had bene succoured in tyme with forces from Walleston as the Emp<sup>r</sup> had comaunded hym often to doe, the King of Sweve had not run so full a carrier as hee did, but that old Tilly would faine have bene meddling with the King againe if hee had had but some addition to those hee had : but Walleston kept hym short having an opportunity to bee revenged for some former discontent and suffred the King to take the pleasure of his Country with fire and sword. But to our History. Swethland beeing taken away : And Walleston his Adversary also ;
- f. 47. hee then ioynes it seemes strongly with the Emp<sup>r</sup> as it stood hym upon : for they both together had enough to doe, for their Adversaries were very strong as the remaynder of the Sweves Army ioyned with the Princes of Germany and with the addition of the french who also had gotten strong footing in Germany. Vnder the Emp<sup>r</sup>s nose & Bavarias both they had taken Ratisbone and [ <sup>1</sup> ] the very Key of Germany & Austria and also of Bavaria standing upon Danubius, that without the getting of those two Townes againe hee was in feare ever to get any more of his Country againe, and in danger sooner to loose Ingolstad then to recover the other. For Gustavus Horne and Duke Bernard Weymar though the King was dead, yet kept their Court at Miniken in as great state as if the King hymself had bene alive, & there, and in that forme as at his last departure from thence hee left it full of strength & forces. But to the busines this Towne of Ratisbone beeing taken in but with great losse & blood : then

<sup>1</sup> Straubing.

begun Bavaria to thinke of getting his owne Country againe and also the sooner & easier for that Gustavus Horne & Weymar those two brave Generalls (who had kept Court at the Dukes Palace at Miniken) as I have said to succour this Towne of Ratisbone had drawne from thence all the forces they could, fayled of their comming short and besides durst not stand before the Kings and the Dukes Army whome they had followed as far as Norling, might with ease, none or small resistance get his Country & his deare Miniken againe & so hee did, for first hee began with Stroobing which held out long till they had made their Peace as Ratisbone had donne and all the rest followed with ease, some or most glad to bee under their old Duke againe and so saluting Miniken thence to Engolstad praising the Cittizens faithfulness. Away hee posted after the young King (leaving some small forces to take all in Bavaria that was left) ; and knowing & hearing from the King that there was like to bee a sharp encounter at Norling and that vnita Vis est fortior ; away hee marched with all his strength to ioyne with the King least thorough his defect the day should miscarry and then all that they had formerly donne had bene to no purpose and coming thither found the King at the Seige. f. 47 b.

# THE TRUE RELATION

## OF THE LAST GREAT BATTLE OF NORLING BETWEEN THE KING OF HUNGARY AND THE UNITED PRINCES OF GERMANY.

Duke Bernard alias Weymar and Gustavus Horne having as I may say little better then fled from the Kings Army which prosecuted them even unto this Cittie of Norling, and finding the neare approach of the Kings Army and his forces not sufficient to withstand the Kings Army alone came and touched at Norling and told them what they were like to trust to, which was a Siege for the King and the Duke were at hand, left them some forces to hold out the longer and refreshed his Army bidding them bee of good heart and hold out, and hee would but goe to encrease his strength and

f. 48. would not faile but relieve them and to bee able to fight with the Ennemy if not to remove hym from the siege, and so away hee went into the Land of Wertinburg, where having got more forces made no long stay but to Norling hee comes backe againe, where he finds the Ennemie but newly and rawly entrenched not expecting Weymars so suddaine returne. But Weymar came bravely on with his Army and past vs. as though hee would presently fight with us. His horse and ours encounters and while wee were busy thus on our right-hand file hee sends three Troopes of his horse upon his left-hand file and behind every horseman a Musquetier, and approached up to a Mill which lyes close to the Walles of the Towne and caused there Musquetiers to alight, whome the Towne were ready prepared to receive and bring them in : and wee not conceiting such a Stratageme that they had Musquetiers behind them, but that onely they were come to make a bravado : and with all wee had enough to doe with the Ennemy on the left-hand file, wee could not have well come tyme enough to hinder them.

But Duke Weymar having donne that which hee came for viz to relieve them and night growing on, on the suddaine retreated and in an Instant to a great<sup>1</sup> Hill which lay about the space of an English Mile from our Leaguer, whereon stood a Castle and at the foot of the Hill a little stronge Towne and a deep Moate about it, in which Towne lay 3000 Musquetiers : and his whole Army lying upon the Hill, having provision enough by reason all the Country

<sup>1</sup> The Arnsberg. The little strong Town is probably Elderheim.

behinde them was theirs as namely the Land of Wertingburg, Swaven, Franconia, and the Palatinate and so up to the Borders of Swisherland : and there hee lying some 8 or 10 dayes wee daily expected Battaile : in that tyme came the Cardinall Infant with his Army out of Spaine to goe into the Low Countryes, and lay at Donwart some three German Miles of, which the King of Hungary had lately taken in, whereof when the King heard, sent to hym to congratulate his comming and to know withall whether it pleased hym to bee with his Army at the Battaile which hee daily expected, and to ioyn with hym, which hee very willinglie did and the next day wee drew our Army out of their Trenches, horse & foot with all our Canons, and gave three Volleys of shot Canons and Musket all ouer the Armie for the honour of the Cardinalls comming. f. 48 b.

Duke Weymar hearing this and knowing the cause, was much angrie and swore hee would send the proud Spaniard backe to Spaine with a pestilence. But the next day broke up his Army from the Hill and wheeled about a Wood which was nere, as if hee would march into Wertingburg-Land : wee sending out our Skouts after hym, they returning said that certainly hee was marched backe againe, that which dazeled and blinded their discovery because hee kept his Reregard so farre behinde. This newes beeing brought to the Camp our Generalls gave leave to most part of our horse to goe to their Quarters to refresh themselves having stood in Battaglia a whole night and a day. But Coronell Butler (whose name I can not mention without reverence) having the Guard half an English Mile before the Army sent mee and Cap<sup>a</sup> Burke up to a Rocke to discry if wee could which way the Ennemy had taken his march : and wee two riding upon the top of the Rocke all alone, saw the Ennemies Rere-gard marching toward the left hand : wee tooke our way downe the Rocke into a Wood at the foot of the Hill and in the Wood wee found a Tracke where a Troop of horse had marched before vs wee supposing it was a Troop of the Ennemies horse followed them, and going thus a space of a quarter of an hower seeing no bodie, we heard Drummes & Trumpets sound not knowing whether it were frend or Ennemy comming to the end of the Wood, wee saw the whole Army of the Ennemy in a great field behind the Wood standing in Battaglia with their front towards our Army : wee seeing this beeing both well mounted in hast tooke our retreat backe to our Regiment and acquainted our Coronell with what wee had seene, who presently sent us in post to the King to acquaint hym with it ; who would not believe it, but wee had no sooner f. 49.

spoken the Word but there came a Courier who told the King that the Ennemies was fallen upon our gard w<sup>ch</sup> Count Butler did comāund. But our Sergeant Maior Generall Count Marachin, having the Gard behind hym with 3000 horse seconded Count Butler : but the Ennemie approached with great force, and our Generalls Person, having not notice tyme enough before wee could get<sup>1</sup> the Infantery to ayde vs the Ennemy had put vs to small retreat : and in the skirmish was slayne Baron de Turnet<sup>2</sup> Coronell de Binder and Coronell Nicolā was sore wounded, Coronell Devreux was shot in the right thigh : where this skirmish was made upon our left hand stood a Hill which the Ennemy was desirous to get : where wee had a Spanish Capitaine with 200 Musquetiers. Our Generall seeing the Ennemy did strive to assault the Hill sent mee with 200 Dragoniers to ayde the Spaniard there. But the night grew on and the Ennemy had approached with in half a Canon-shot of the Army, and our Generall thinking wee were too weake to maintayne that Hill sent a Lieutenant Coronell with 500 Spanish Musquetiers to relieve mee, and I f. 49 b. to returne but I could not passe but I must come thorough the Ennemies garde, which lay betwixt mee and my Regiment, but I was resolute to passe through them with my Dragoniers and beeing darke commaunded none should discharge till they were bidden, and so marched close togeather, they calling often for the Word, but I gave no answeare, till we were in the midst of them and then on a suddaine wee discharged all togeather that made a great confusion among them, whether they thought till then wee were frends that they did not shoot, but then they bestirred themselves. My Coronell lying not far from thence, hearing this doing came up with his Regiment and brought mee of for there hee lay expecting my coming.

The Ennemie hearing this Alarme thought that the Spaniards which kept the Hill were fallen upon their Gard : approached up to the Hill & assaulted it : but the Spaniards beate them backe. The Sweves tooke courage and set on it againe and this Assault did last for three howers, at last they tooke in the<sup>3</sup> Hill & cut of most of the Spaniards : some of the principall officers they gave Quarter vnto : but the next morning brought those Spaniards before the whole Army and shot them to death contrary to the

<sup>1</sup> There is some confusion in language here.

<sup>2</sup> These officers, if their names are correctly given, do not appear to be mentioned elsewhere except 'de Turnet,' who is 'Baron de la Tornetta.' Khevenhüller. XII. 1213.

<sup>3</sup> The Häselsberg. (Wille, *Hanau im dreissigjährigen Kriege*, p. 132.) or possibly the 'Allbuch.'

Lawe of Armes. This Hill beeing taken in, they brought their Canons upon it and the next morning by breake of day they began to play with them into our Leaguer which was the speciall thing they aymed at. But our horse and the Spanish horse beeing come (who had marched all night) made a stand and began to draw their Batallia up into divisions, but the Ennemy very resolutely approached and tooke a skonce in of ours, which lay hard under the Hill which they had new gotten of us, and played upon us with Canon of the Hill & of the Skonce which gauled the Spanish Army ; but the Spaniard approached with his whole Army and tooke in the Skonce & Hill againe, and put the Ennemy to f. 50. retreat in which Ennemies retreat wee tooke Prisoners Coronell Hew<sup>1</sup> a Scottish-man Cap<sup>n</sup> Christen and Cap<sup>n</sup> Fiscots<sup>2</sup> and Cap<sup>n</sup> Ramsey a Scot and Coronell Musten was shot dead and many a brave sparke more, during this hot fight the Towne sallied out on our backes and did us much mischief : but wee beate them often backe.

Duke Weymar seeing the service so hot on the right hand file and like to have the worst of it, fled to Policy, and thought if hee could get out and fall upon the Kings backe who was very attentive to maintayne this fight on the right hand-file, hee should puzzle the King extreemely coming so unlooked for, tooke two strong Troopes of horse and marched towards a passe where I was comāunded to stand with 200 Dragoniers by Picolominie, who had carefully observed & viewed all passages of danger. Before mee I had a Quick-set hedge and a bog of about a pistol shot in breadth and in the midst a narrow passage of fower in ranke which narrow passage Duke Weymar had found and thither hee comes but not knowing or thinking any body was there yet to prevent danger sent a Troop of 200 horse to see if the passage were cleare, which Troop I embraced with a volly of 50 Musquetiers then 50 more and so kept their order 50 at a tyme and coming so unexpected vpon them made such a confusion among them man & horse tumbling in the bogs that it grieved my self to see them. Weymar swearing intolerably and the more hee strove to second them with fresh in that heate the more they fell into disorder, I and my Troopes standing in security and at our ease having 50 fresh shot upon them still. At length I could heare hym sweare and call aloud to bring downe 500 horse and

<sup>1</sup> 'Hew' may be the real name, or it may be an error for 'Hume' or 'Home'. Thomas Hume of Carrolside was Lieut. Col. of the Rhinegrave's regiment of horse.

<sup>2</sup> 'Fiscots' is possibly (a Lindsay of) 'Pitscottie'.

- 300 Musquetiers more. I hearing hym say so, sent presently a Courier to Galas our Generall that if hee would have that passe kept, hee must send more forces : John de Wert hearing this came hymself and brought 500 Crabats and 300 Musquetiers : the Crabats beeing come I marched over with my Dragoniers and played upon the Ennemy with them till the Crabats got over with the 300 Musquetiers and beeing got over John de Wert encountered with Duke Weymar but was beaten backe to the bog but John de Wert sending backe for 5 Regiments of Cuirassiers got a good courage and at the second encounter got 5 Colours in the skirmish, with which Duke Bernard was much vexed, that hee called aloud to fetch 3000 Musquetiers more & the rest of his horse that had a field piece betwixt every Troope. And the bottome wherein they fought was but small and had more horse and men then they could well order there already beeing betwixt two great Hills ; but John de Wert having got some advantage held it and followed it with fresh horse upon horse that there was a bloody fight. At length came Duke Weymars horse but there was no roome for them to employ them to the Dukes relief, but the Dukes forces beeing once in disorder John de Wert plyed hym so hard that hee would not give hym leave to make any stand : and then these new forces coming in the necke of the other that there was such a generall confusion among them that the Dukes Infantry which were in the bottome were all cut downe, and themselves out of order lost their courage and away they fled, and John de Wert followed the Duke in slaughter 6 English Miles : so it seemes a man may have too many men as well as to few, unlesse hee have roome to order them in, as it fell out here : and what a little occasion as such a bog as this should order all the order of the Battaile and bring the
- f. 51. Battaile out of the plaine champion into a little bottome, which was as was thought, they would have got the day in the plaine field, and all that Duke Weymar now [did] was in heate and choler without consideration comming to bee beaten backe at such a passage. But Gustavus Horne although hee saw that Duke Weymar was overthrowne on the right hand and fled, which was enough to discourage a good spirit, yet fought like Dragons two howers after ; and on the other side the Spaniards were as much encouraged to see wee had got the day, that they fought like Tygers and so long and having fresh supply that at length Gustavus Horne was taken Prisoner and Sergeant Maior Generall Cratz who as I said before had runne from Ingolstad, and many a brave Cavalliero cut downe. The rest of the Army began to fly and our Infantry with our horse following the slaughter for the space of twenty English Miles.

There wee got all their Canons and other field-pieces which were above fiftie in number and all their Amunition Wagons and Baggage-Wagons above fower thousand with all their Colours: and withall wee found such a number of Ladies and Commaunders Wives that I can not count them, and all of them taken Prisoners. John de Wert followed the execution after Duke Weymar thorough the Land of Wertinberg with his light horse & Crabats till hee came to a Towne called Holbrum<sup>1</sup> which was 50 English Miles and more standing upon the River of Neckar, where Duke Weymar had 5 Companies of souldiers and there made a stand, the Towne was too strong for hym; and so returned and coming by a Towne called Keeping<sup>2</sup> where lay Coronell Grinoway<sup>3</sup> an English man with his Regiment belonging to Duke Weymar, hee seeing the battaile lost, Weymar fled and hymself riche gave up the Towne with his whole Regiment to the service of the King of Hongary. f. 51 b.

Then the King marched with his whole Army thorough the Land of Wertinberg to Kirken<sup>4</sup> vndre, but the Duke who had an Army of his owne Boores of ten thousand threw away their armes and run away and left their Duke shift for hymself who fled to Straseburg but John de Wert followed hym through a Wood called Swartzwald and upon the other side of the Wood meets with the Ringrave with an Army of 8000 not one knowing of the other.

The Ringrave was so amazed first seeing the flight of the Duke of Wertinberg and John de Wert coming so suddainely upon hym in good order after, made a stand and encountred, but the Ringraves horsemen beeing discouraged therewith made a retreat towards the River of Rhene, thinking to swim with his Cavallieri over the Rhene was drowned therein hymself with many of his horsemen who was coming with his Army to the Battaile of Norling.

But the King of Hongary beeing come to Kirkenvndre wherein lay two Companies of Duke Weymars. The Commaunder did yield up the Towne as the former did and the King left Coronell Butler there with certayne Regiments as Comaunder to take in the rest of the Country. Which doune the King marched forwards to the Towne of Holbrum as aforesaid and beleagred it, and tooke it in by force but not without burning half thereof. The King stayed here a long tyme and divided his Armie into three parts: Count Redburg<sup>5</sup> marched into Franconia and tooke in all the Townes & Castles thereabouts.

<sup>1</sup> Heilbronn.

<sup>2</sup> Göppingen.

<sup>3</sup> ? Greenway.

<sup>4</sup> This seems to be Kirchheim unter (Teck)

<sup>5</sup> Riedberg, (*Theatr. Europ.* : iii, p. 639.)



Gallas marched with an other Army toward the Rhene and coming nere Heydleburg met with certaine Troopes of the french Armie which did encounter with hym, but the french getting more  
 f. 52. ayde hauing the Towne & Castle to help, Gallas was forced to retreat. The Duke of Lorayne having the Reregard of the Armie and the french approaching strong upon hym was forced to leave 3 of his Canons behinde hym and so went to Holbrum to the King, and there the Winter Quarters were delt out which fell out to bee so neare the Ennemies Wynter-Quarters that as much harme was donne to both sides with often Incursions as if the Armies had bene in the field. And Coronell Despanias Quarters fell out to bee betwixt Holbrun and Heydleburg which was in the french hands and one Coronell Dubartle<sup>1</sup> one of Duke Weymars Army, which had bene lately taken Prisoner and had lost most part of his Regiment, and beeing ransomed and getting an other Troope of horse fell into Coronell Despanias Quarters and cut of most of his men and hymself was taken Prisoner, after this manner they spent the whole Wynter.

But I should have told you that as there was great sorrow on Duke Weymar his Syde for his losse, which you must judge was sorrow enough : so on the other side the joy was in extremity, for what expression of joy could bee made there was ether in Drummes Trumpets, Canons &c. for so great a Victory. Te Deum was presently sung thorough out all the Armie that was left, for those that followed the poursuite had more mynde of taking pray then of making prayer I thinke. Especially the Congratulation of the young King with the young Cardinall, how God had donne them that honour to meet almost by miracle at so great a Victory. Bavaria and Loraine had their shares in this ioy. The Battaile ended the Cardinall prepared for his journy and after leave taken very solemnly by the good Princes: the Cardinall went away by Colen :<sup>2</sup> and thorough Colen ; whither the Citty it is thought had invited  
 f. 52 b. hym as it seemes by his entertainment for hee was met within a Mile of by the Lords of the Citty : and at his entrance by all the Clergie especially those Electorall Bishops and others that were fled for refuge thither from the face of the Swevish King and by them brought to the High Church thorough all the Streets, hanged and strewed where hee heard a delicate Sermon with Te Deum sung all the way : where hee rested that night. The next day marched

<sup>1</sup> Taupadel. He had been captured by Butler at the taking of Schorndorf.

<sup>2</sup> His army crossed the Rhine not at Cologne, but at Apdernach. But he himself went on to Cologne. *Theatr. Europ.*, iii, p. 372. Poyntz's story is quite correct.

away with all speed : but before his going made the Cittizens a gratulatory speech for their more then kingly entertayment of him : and with all it did rejoyce hym much to see them so firme in the Catholique faith : and what a favour God had donne them to have the happinesse their Towne to bee the Civitas Refugij to the Saints which had fled to them for succour. But amongst all hee had an ey of the Bishop of Wertsburg where the Swevish King had found so much Money : whome hee much blamed that Knowing what distresse the Emp<sup>r</sup> was in for mony, and thereby the Empire, and yet would suffer so much Mony and gold to ly resting there, that that which was layd up there for the good of the Empire should fall into an Ennemies hands and thereby destroy the Empire by Gods permission. The Bishop [said] it was laid there by his Predecessours to which hee had followed their course and made some addition of his yearly renew as they did, and indeed durst not without some great offence adventure of stirring it.

Notwithstanding this great Victory, the Towne of Norling from which wee have long digressed was not discouraged but held the King play a long tyme with great losse as well by their often sallies when hee was in fight with Weymar as also now beeing often beaten backe from many assaults : whereat hee beeing angrie made his Cuirassiers to allight who are horse-men armed Cap a pied f. 53. who were also served in like sort : of which Companie I was one : where was a strife betwixt one and my self for one Ladder, whether of us should goe up first, hee would have the first honour, & I would have it hee pleaded hee was my ancient in service and so hee was, and I let hym goe, a proper young man hee was and up hee went and I followed hym at heeles so soone as hee came to the Top of the Walles, his head was no sooner peeped up above the Walles, but it seemes one thrust at hym with a Halberd and thrust of his Bever, his Bever was no sooner of but with a sword one stricke of his head and fell to the ground the head beeing of the body falls upon mee and there it lyes very heavy upon mee and blooded mee wonderfully that I was almost smothered with blood. I not knowing what was the cause cryed what the Devil ayld you that you doe not mount higher, but what with the weight and with the blood I could hold no longer and downe wee fell together and what with my fall upon the stones and hee in his armour upon mee that I knew not whether I was alive or dead, but after I came to myself sore bruised and bloody I crawled to the Wall and stood close where I saw them run from the Assault, I though overloaden got away the bullets coming flying after us, which chance was much observed afarre of and I had such wondring at mee to see

mee so bloody all over and yet not wounded. But yet the King would not bee beaten of so but got it at last to the Townes-mens cost who were all slayne.<sup>1</sup>

f. 53 b. The Princes of the Vnion were wonderfully dejected with the overthrow of their two Generalls, and with them almost all their forces & strength presently sent a Post to Prague at the siege whereof they knew very well the Duke of Saxony lay with Banier to acquaint them in what state they were, and that with all speed hee could that hee would make their peace with the Emp<sup>r</sup> otherwise prosecuting his Victory they would all bee outed of their Countries: hee as I have formerly writ neglected no tyme but made good use for hymself and them of it: and a Peace was concluded and a Dyet to bee held at Ratisbone (lately taken in by the King of Hongary) and so it was the next sommer after.

Now to the King againe: the Sommer com̄ing on Gallas drew into the field (for the King of Hongary wintred most part in Vienna and was not yet come to his Army) and marched to Heydleburg and beleagred the Towne and Castle, the Com̄aunder thereof was Coronell Huncks<sup>2</sup> an English man. Gallas lying there about the space of 14 dayes broke up from thence leaving certaine Regiments about it an [sic] marched towards Mannum<sup>3</sup> and there hee pitched his Leaguer and lying certaine dayes there, broke up againe and left two Regiments of foot with young Papenham<sup>4</sup> of 6000 men with 3 Companies of Dragoniers lying a mile of onely to keep that no provision should come to the Towne. And Gallas with the rest of his Army marched towards Wormes where lay 3 Regiments of french & Swevish where Gallas built a Bridge<sup>5</sup> betweene frankendall & Wormes and marched over with half his Army, and beleagred the Towne on both sides and laying there the space of 8 dayes tooke in the Towne upon composition laying downe their Armes and Colours and put a Garrison in the Towne: and sent Don Hannibal de Gonzaga with 3 Regiments of horse and foot to frankendall and there to entrench themselves a Mile of to Keep out provision and lay there the space of 24 weekes where were Prisoners taken & killed on ether side in sallies. But Coronell Smith-

f. 54.

<sup>1</sup> Nördlingen surrendered on good terms the day after the battle. The whole story seems misplaced.

<sup>2</sup> Abel Moda a Swede was the real commandant, but Huncks was a real person, who fought at Maestricht. Markham, '*Fighting Veres*,' p. 445.

<sup>3</sup> Mannheim.

<sup>4</sup> Nephew of the cavalry general, and defender of the Wülzburg against Gustavus Adolphus in 1631. cf. Harte, ii, p. 126 note. Pappenheim had but one son, born in 1618.

<sup>5</sup> i. e. across the Rhine at a point between the two towns.

burg<sup>1</sup> Governour of the Towne of Mannum finding his Amunition and provision to grow short, agreed to yield up the Towne laying downe colours & Armes, and all them that had mynde to serve the Emp<sup>r</sup> and stay might, and was to bee conveyed with his Companie to Metz in Lorraine, but tarrying long for his conduct betweene frankendall and Mannum came certaine straggling parties from our Army & fell into his Quarters where hee lay with his baggage and beeing disarmed men, pillaged his baggage and put his men to flight that the Coronell alone took his way with a Page in the night towards Haganaw where lay a Regiment of the french and there hee stayed.

But the Towne of frankendall seeing the Towne of Mannū given up and no hope of relief, began to parly that they might march out with bag and baggage, flying Colours, burning Matches and bullet in mouth but the Regiment which was called the Holland Regiment was to bee conveyed downe the River of Rhine towards Holland and a french Regiment to bee conducted as far as Elses<sup>2</sup> Chabur which lyes in Alsatia upon the passage vp to Loraine, so the Towne was yielded.

But Gallas hearing the french Armie lay about Mentz marched thither ; but the french not thinking themselves strong enough to stay his coming broke up and marched towards Chritznocke.<sup>3</sup> Gallas beleagred Mentz and sent a flying Army up to Chritznocke to assault the Towne, and tooke half the Towne but the french kept the other half with the Castle, and the french having got a new supply drive out the Imperialists cutting of 2000 and so the rest were constraind to retire backe to Gallas, who hearing this f. 54 b. news broke up from before Mentz, for that the french with their new supply followed the flying Armie even to Mentz.

Gallas marched backe to Wormes againe there tarrying till the King of Hongary came with an Army of 15000 men which Count Colredor had commaunded in Bohemia when the King came to Holbrun, hee sent the said Colredor with the Armie to Gallas which beeing come joyned together and went over the Rhene at Wormes and went to franckford on the Mayne and pitched his Leaguer betwixt franckford and Darmstat. The french Generall built a bridg at Mentz and began to approach to Gallas, but hauing notice hee had a new supply retreated hymself to an Iland which is called Gustavus-burg, lying betwixt the Rhene and the Mayne; there they

<sup>1</sup> Schmidtberg, best known for his defence of Philippsburg after Nördlingen.

<sup>2</sup> Elsass Zabern.

<sup>3</sup> Kreuznach.

<sup>4</sup> Harte, ii, p. 117. Modern historians say little of this matter, but the *Theatrum Europaeum* has a plan of the place, ii, p. 604.

- lay both Armies facing one the other for the space of 4 Moneths. This place called Gustavus-burg was built by the King of Sweve by his owne name viz. the Cittie of Gustavus : and it was a thing of great importance for it commaunded Mentz and also the River of Rhene that nothing could passe without its leave paying contribution. And the King was so earnest in the edification of it that hee placed all about that they that would come and build and live there should have greater priviledges then other places had, and it almost beggered Mentz and defaced it ; for most of the Churches, Abbeyes and Religious houses were pulled downe for the Stone to bee brought to build Gustavus-burg, and so they did from any Towne round about where they could get any, that before the King was killed it was growne to a great Citty, but since his death it is almost come to nothing ; for the french souldiers getting the commaund there and every where with the Sweve, both goe to wracke one envying the other.
- f. 55.

In the meane tyme the King of Hongary lying at Holbrun, brought all the free Townes to Composition with hym and submitted themselves, as namely Norinberg, Wollom,<sup>1</sup> franckford on the Mayne, but Straseburg would and would not as hee [saw] the successe. But franckford having 2000 Musquetiers lying in one half of the Towne of the Sweves forces, the Comaunder whereof was Coronell Kniphausen<sup>2</sup> who did not know at first the Lords of franckford were gonne to the King to Holbrun about peace, but at last got notice of it, by this their secrecie hee expected some rough dealing : the Lords suddainely upon their returne without any warning to the Comaunder turned all their Canons upon the Sweves and shot fiercely vpon them and withall sallyed over the Bridge, thinking to beat hym out of his Quarters but hee receaved them with such Vollies of shot that they were constrayned to retreat backe with the losse of many. This continued the space of 8 dayes so that the Lords of the Towne were forced to write to Gallas for ayde, who sent them 8000 men by Marquesse de Grande<sup>3</sup> who beeing come in short tyme the Governor began to parley and at length it was agreed hee should march away with flying colours, bullet in the Mouth, bag and baggage 5 pieces of Canon and 6 Wagons of Amunition and convoy for hymself to Mentz where the french Army lay. This half Towne thus yielded and hee marching out with all his souldiers, baggage &c hee thinking to have a convoy for all his 2000 men, our Generall caused his souldiers to stand and with our

<sup>1</sup> Ulm.

<sup>2</sup> Vitzthum was the real commander. Possibly Kniphausen was present.

<sup>3</sup> Carretto, Marchese di Grana : it was really Lamboy.

8000 men made a Ring about them and there our Generall showed f. 55 b. hym the Accord which was made betwixt them, wherein hee had forgotten convoy for his men and mentioned it onely for hymself which was given hym, but his Officers and souldiers were faine to take the kings pay and so lose all his bag and baggage which fell to our horsmen. The Canons and Amunition was sent backe to the Towne and their colours to the Emperour. In the meane tyme the french Army lying so long in this Iland of Gustavus-burg having almost famished them broke up and left the Iland unmanned : but in the Towne of Mentz hee left a thousand Musquetiers and Gallas marching after hym up towards Chritznocke besieged it and in the space of 8 dayes took the Towne in : but the french retreated to the Castle and Gallas leauing went from thence, left 2000 souldiers in the Towne who continually skirmished with those of the Castle, and in the night Coronell Becker, an Ingenious and valourous man got under the shot of the Canon and there entrenched hymself but not without the losse of many a man. The french next morning finding what was donne, sallyed out and besieged this entrenchement and fought the one with the other the space of three howers, but the Imperialists having worked the whole night grew very faint and weary and thorough the greatnesse of the labour were forced to leave the entrenchement, and retreat into the Towne. The french layd the entrenchement levell, a great slaughter there was on both sides, and this continued all the Sommer.

But the Coronell sent to Gallas for 500 Musquetiers who lay betweene Sorbruck and Sweybruck<sup>1</sup> those forces beeing come hee approached the Castle againe the nights beeing growne longer and f. 56. entrenched hymself as before, but the french grew weake partly for want of food and men : made one sally more out but with great losse : which discouraged them so that presently they came to a parly and hauing their owne conditions coming out with flying colours etc. were conducted to their Army.

In the meane tyme Gallas marched after the french Army who tooke their retreat towards Metz in Loraine having pillaged the Duke of Sorbrucks<sup>2</sup> Country with the principall Townes as Sorbruck Sweybruck etc. and following the french over the Moselle sent young Colredo before hym with the Van-gard of 6000 light horse, who meeting with a Troope of french of 200 or thereabout, put them most to the sword, but the principall Officers Kept Prisoners, so going forward marched thorough a Wood, hee saw a party of 2000 french horse which was vpon a Hill with a small Brooke at

<sup>1</sup> Saarbrück and Zweibrücken.

<sup>2</sup> Nassau-Saarbrück.

the foote but upon the other side of the Hill lay the frenche with his whole Army, Colredo advanced to these 2000 over the Brooke with all his 6000 men, but sent two great Troops to encounter with them and hee marching upon the right hand got to the Top of the Hill, where hee saw the whole Army advancing up the Hill towards hym, but hee slew like a brave souldier most of the 2000 before the rest could come up the Hill. But Coloredo thinking to make a retreat in good order comaunded 3 Coronells with 3000 men who were Binder, Long & Peter Gets<sup>1</sup> to hold them in play till hee got over the Brooke and that hee would second them in like case, but his owne souldiers beeing discouraged with that retreat, and the french Army comming on them all fled, and the Ennemy had f. 56 b. the slaughter of them 6 English Miles. Coronell Long was slayne, Coronell Binder and Gets were taken Prisoners. But Coloredo<sup>2</sup> got away with some 3 or 400 men and came to Gallas who had a great check and was clapt in Prison.

After this Gallas tooke his March into Loraine and some 4 Miles from Metz, the french Card :<sup>3</sup> meets with hym with the goodlyest sight that ever I beheld with a World of brave horse and men coming up a Hill in such order : and the first day they were clad all in horsemens coats of scarlet colour and sylver lace ; the next day having laid by their coats they were all in bright Armour and great feathers wonderfull beautifull to behold, that wee did looke every day for battaile but striving a long tyme who should begin the round, none would adventure and so at length they both fell to entrench themselves and that very strongly. This was in August where both Armies lay thus facing the one the other for the space of three Moneths together but with many skirmishes.

This long continuance in our Trenches made a great famine in Gallas his Army, both of horse and man, that hee lost above twenty thousand men that were famished and did nothing worthy of memory. The Winter coming on ether side retreated but the french rise first, by reason the french could not endure such hardnesse as the Germans: but all their Bravery which they showed at their comming was gone, wee could see at their parting nether scarlet Coats nor feathers, but sneaked and stole away by little & by little from their Camp. And it seemes most

<sup>1</sup> Peter Götz, younger brother of the general, Hans Götz.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be a garbled version of the defeat of Colloredo the younger by Gassion in March, 1636. Colloredo was captured and imprisoned: not by Gallas however, but at Vincennes.

<sup>3</sup> Cardinal De la Valette. He had with him the flower of the French nobility. Barthold, i, p. 265.

of their brave horses were eaten or dead for few we could see at their departure nor heare so much neighing of horses as when they came, and that their losse was farre greater then ours in mortality and running away that it was thought, that if with that Army wee had left, our Generall had adventured further into the Country hee had found none to resist hym : and for which hee was suspected to have bene bribed by the Cardinal ; and for which hee was mightily checked by the King to have such a brave Army of above 80 thousand strong and to ruine them and doe nothing besides the infinite charge it was to the Emp<sup>r</sup> to which hee answered as they said that by yt meanes hee kept the french in awe at home that hee could not so well ayde those his Allies abroad in Germany : and the King of Hungary had more leasure to draw in his rebellious subjects and Citties, beeing not well settled after his late Victory at Norling, and further that if hee had hazarded a Battaile and miscarried, all what the King had formerly gotten would have bene presently lost and bene over runne by french. The same they say hee did the next yeare <sup>1</sup> after, but I was away here in England : but that hee excused also that hee durst not venture a battaile with the Cardinall for then the Dyet at Ratisbone was in agitation and there was a suspension a while among the Electours about choosing the King of Hongary King of Romans which was so long about that Winter was come on and then it was tyme to goe to Garrison.

Now where wee left ; the french beeing retreated into france ; Gallas retreated into Alsatia and tooke in the Towne of Elschambar <sup>2</sup> a great Towne upon the passage to Loraine, where lay 15 Companies of french which were convoyed to Metz. And Gallas went to Landoe in Alsatia and there delt out his Winter-Quarters whither was sent hym a fresh Army of ten thousand Polanders which hee sent to the Entrenchement in Loraine, where hee had layne the whole Sommer with his Army, to keep the frenche in play that hee might ly the quietlier the whole Winter to strengthen his Army against the next Sommer.

Hee sent John de Wert with ten thousand into the Land of Lutzinburg there to have his Winter Quarter : halfe of them hee sent into the Land of Liege <sup>3</sup> who were all for Hollande & hated the house of Austria and were the cause that the Hollanders tooke in Mastrick their Country bringing them in provision. John de Wert lying in their Country with his Army did vexee them at heart whereupon the City with the Boores grew in rebellion against

<sup>1</sup> This must refer to a date late in 1636. See Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Elsass Zabern.

<sup>3</sup> In the Spring of 1636.



them and cut of many of his souldiers whereupon hee grew angry and sent for the other 5000 of his Army and wasted their Country, and followed them home even to Lieg and besieged it where hee lay at it the space of 8 weeks with every day many skirmishes but it being very strong by situation and in that tyme hee could not take it, having receaved order from Gallas to ioyn his forces with Picolominie and so to march into france having well wintered his souldiers among their fat Boores hee rise from the Siege and away hee went.

- f. 58. During this Winter Quarter Gallas sent also Count Hatzfield<sup>1</sup> to ly upon the borders of the Langrave of Hessen his Country with 12 thousand men to bring hym to submission to the Emp<sup>r</sup> all the rest of the vnited Princes having submitted themselves (as was afterward seene at the Dyet of Ratisbone) only hee excepted but hee fearing the Emperours Army lying so neare upon his backe, & his souldiers dispersed into Winter Garrisons writes to the Duke of Saxony to make his Peace with the Emp<sup>r</sup> as hee had donne before for the rest of the Princes and that the Emp<sup>rs</sup> souldiers might not pillage his Country which the Duke obtayned, and none upon paine of death might trouble Coronell Sprighter<sup>2</sup> his Country who was a Coronell of the Sweues lying nearer where our Army lay. And thinking the peace would bee made betweene the Duke of Hesse and Vs, fell over with 3 Regiments to the Emperour and was maide Sergeant Maior Generall of a flying Army.

- f. 58 b. But in the meane tyme the Duke of Saxony having need of ayde against Banier the Swevish Generall as I have formerly related in his History, writ to the Emp<sup>r</sup> to entreat hym that hee would send hym an Army of ten or twelve thousand men; the Emp<sup>r</sup> writ to Gallas to satisfie his request who presently sent the Duke of Saxonie the twelve thousand souldiers who lay upon the Borders of the Duke of Hessen his Country; which beeing donne and got away: so soone as the Duke of Hessen saw hee was rid of his ill neighbours the Emperour's souldiers hee drew his Souldiers out of Garrison; and made an Army and marched up as farre as Hannow in [<sup>3</sup> ] which was beleaguered by a part of the Emp<sup>rs</sup> Army. The Comaunder of Hannow who was old Coronell Ramsey a Scotch man having gotten notice of the Duke of Hessens coming to succour hym and at hand, and the other side not dreaming of any Adversary nere, sallyed out of the Towne, beat the Imperialists out of their Trenches, having on the other side and hee on the

<sup>1</sup> See note 4 on p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Speerreuter. There is again some confusion in language.

<sup>3</sup> A useless lacuna: there is nothing to be supplied.

other, killed & drowned in the River of Muñe <sup>1</sup> as good as fower thousand and levelled all their workes.

Duke Hessen victualled the Towne for a yeare and put in fresh souldiers. So soone as the Imperialists heard this presentlv they sent felt Marshall Gots with an Army of 14000 men into the Duke of Hessen his Country againe, and there tooke in one Towne after an other beating his forces at every turne. Hee seeing hymself in this distresse repented hymself of his former foolery, yet having not lost all heart left his chief Towne called Cassell (where hee left his Wife also) as well stored with provision and Souldiers for a siege as his short tyme would give hym leave, and departed bidding her bee of good cheere for hee would leave Malander <sup>2</sup> his Generall behinde hym who joyning with the Swevish forces who lay in the stift <sup>3</sup> Breame about the River of Vessure <sup>4</sup> and hee hymself would ship away presently for Holland and get some new supply of men which joyning with Malander & the Sweves would quickly relieve her out of that distresse, and whither certainly hee went, for I found hym in Rotterdam when I was there in October <sup>5</sup> last and at Gravesende I met two of his Sonnes comming about some such suites as I thinke to our King leaving his Wife besieged. And since I heare getting some 4 or 5000 Holland forces comming home upon the suddaine with other forces to his have driven the Imperiall souldiers out of the Country.

Now I have gonne as farre as I can of things of any importance f. 59. I am sure, I am sure I have tyred my self if not my Reader. I did not thinke my memory would have carried mee so farre, but one thing draweth on an other which with the help of some od notes I had by mee I have brought to this perfection if any perfection can ly in Warres and bloody histories. And this one thing I may say that what I have here related is true, which few others can doe because those things they publish they have them but at most at second or 3<sup>d</sup> hand or els from Dutch and lying Corantoos : <sup>6</sup> and withall I doe not take upon mee to goe any further then in those things which were of importance and wherein I my self was an Actour, where were of those 3 greatest set

<sup>1</sup> Main. The word is almost illegible.

<sup>2</sup> Peter von Holzapfel ; called also Melander.

<sup>3</sup> Stift Bremen as before, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Weser.

<sup>5</sup> Barthold, i, p. 364. But this is certainly October, 1636 and proves that Poyntz could not have written till very late in 1636 or early in 1637. See the Introduction.

<sup>6</sup> 'Courants.' "Newsletters" of the time.

Battailes that were fought in Christendome these hundred yeares, I meane betweene Christian and Christian and all within the compasse of a yeare & half and had such valourous Leaders that they were fought to the very last man as you may read and that which shoves the Battailes were fought to the last for those that [had] taken many Prisoners were glad to let them goe againe to save themselves. And I call these Battailes of Importance for if the Emp<sup>r</sup> had fayled & bene overthrowne in ether of these two last Battailes, viz. in that wherein the King of Sweve was slayne or in the last of Nerling, the Emp<sup>r</sup> and his issue and the house of Austria would quickly have bene put besides his Crowne, but God it seemes defended & vpheld hym miraculously, and in my opinion in nothing more then in Wallestons conspiracy, which the more private it was, the more dangerous.

- f. 59 b. And now a little to myself, how often have I seene fortunes, and first I will begin with those of higher rancke, for when I began first as many others did to follow after Mansfield like mad folkes wee knew not whither I came into Germany with other troopes of souldiers wee passed thorough many brave Princes Countries in all which wee had supply of Men and Money and where wee found such plenty of all things for backe and belly that heart could desire and had got pretty store of Crownes : but at the length wee had a Crosse of fortune, for Tilly met with us & stript us naked of all Canon, Amunition and whatsoever wee had, yea with the death of most but those that saved their lives by running away : yet at length our Army was encreased againe by those Protestant Princes thorough whose plentifull Countries wee had marched ; that at that tyme when we met w<sup>th</sup> Bethlem Gabor wee were got to 30 thousand which also as I told you before came to nothing, and worse then nothing by the death of Mansfield and Weymar, and most of many brave souldiers fell into miserable captivity where wee were stript of all that wee lightly got in that long journey, but lost in an hower, and made slavish Slaves & nightly chayned by the feet to a great log after our sharpe dayes Labour, which was so terrible to fellowes of brave spirits that they did strive to dy & could not, and that which grieved mee as much as for my self was for a brave young gentleman of a Duke of Barlamonts house <sup>1</sup> in Italy, and wee called hym Count Barlamont, who was beaten to death before our faces, because his Spirit was so great as would not yield to bee a drudge. But now to my self I saw there was no striving tooke upon mee an humble spirit and fell to my drudgery

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Barlamont was really a Walloon nobleman.

hoping once for a light night as they say and went merrily to my Worke and strove to get the language and now & then some money by hooke or by crooke & hid it in od corners: so after 2 or 3 yeares patience, opportunity fell that I got away and some f. 60 b. 40 myles but was brought backe with a vengeance and had 300 blowes on my feet which cooled my running for one yeare. But God at length did prosper my intentions, for I got a brave horse which at length brought mee to the skirts of Christendome, but fortune threw mee againe on my backe, met with theeves got all my little Mony and horse and all: O how that went to my heart to part with my horse, which had brought mee out of the Devills Mouth, and so neare Christendome, I meane Austria, where hee would have given mee a hundred pound if some other had had hym, but no remedy. After all these Crosses the Sunne began to shyne clearly upon mee as I have formerly showed you how luckily I light upon a poore franciscan an English-man by name A. More, and somewhat allyed by marriage to our name in Sussex. Then I rise by fortunes from a Lieutenant to a Capt<sup>n</sup> of a troop of Horse in Saxons Armie, but beeing taken Prisoner by the Imperialists I lost againe all that I had under the Saxon Duke. Thus fortune tossed mee up and downe, but I sped better then I expected; for I was taken Prisoner by Count Butler with whome after I got in favour hee rayseed mee extreame: for by his favour hee got mee my first Wife, a rich Merchants Daughter, who though wee lived not two yeares togeather, shee dying in child-bed to my great grief, yet shee left mee rich, and she was of an humble condition and very houswifly, wee should have lived very happily togeather; and if shee had lived but halfe a yeare longer I had come to greater Wealth: for within that tyme after her death, her father & Mother, who lived in Aegre where I got my wife, dyed, f. 60 b. and left a World of Wealth which came to strangers, having no child nor childs child; and not content with this the good Count Butler got mee an other Wife, rich in Land and mony, but of a higher birth & spirit, and therefore would live at a higher rate than our meanes would well afford, for no Lady in this Land wore better close than shee did, besides her Coach and 6 Coach-horses w<sup>th</sup> with Attendants answerable to it would bee very expensive and had great Kindred that lay vpon vs. But I beeing come to this height got to bee by Count Butlers favour Sergeant Maior of a Troop of 200 horse but I was to raise them at my owne charge, which was no small matter for mee to doe, beeing so well underlayd and so well aforehand, for I had then 3000 £ which I carried into the field with mee besides that I left at home with my Wife,

and besides that I had layd out about some land I bought which lay nere my <sup>1</sup> Wives Lande. And I made good use of my place for I could and did send home often tymes Mony to my Wife, who it seemes spent at home what I got abroad, but fortune turned against mee againe for in that cruell bloody Battaille where in the King of Sweveland was killed, my horses were all ether killed or ranne away : for that night after the Battayle (when Walleston was glad to withdraw out of the field) our Camp beeing at rest horse and man, an Officer came from our Generall to every Officer to know what strength every company was of. One came to mee I beeing in a dead sleep and my horse as weary as I lying on the ground by mee asleep, to know the like of mee, but after great  
 f. 60. adoe to wake mee, I could give hym but account of 3 Officers of my Companie which lay there downe by my side. It seemes hee found most of his Companies as weake as myne, for presently that night the Army was comaunded to march away without sound of Drum or Trumpet, and so wee marched 8 Miles that night before wee refreshed ourselves againe : but the march was so suddaine, that every one that had baggage, horse and Wagons were glad to leave his baggage behinde hym, for our horses were all strayed and run away beeing played upon continually by the Swevish Canon though they stood a Mile of. For Walleston to make his Army seeme bigger, had together all the Women, struggers and boys of the Camp with horses and wagon-Jades to stand together to make as it were a great Troop with sheets for their flags, who when they saw the Canon shoot so fast upon them, run all away ; though souldiers were sent to keep them together, where I lost most of my wealth, and could bring no more away then I and my 3 weary Officers could carry ; and Walleston was in the same predicament hymself for hee was faine to leave all his canon and baggage behinde.

At the beginning great store of prisoners were taken on both sides, I my self was taken prisoner three tymes but twice I was rescued by my fellowes ; the third tyme beeing taken hold of by my belt, having my sword in my hand, I threw the belt over my Eares and rescued myself. I lost three horses that day beeing shot under mee, and I hurt under my right side and in my thigh, but I had horses without maisters enough to choose and horse my self ; all had pistols at their saddle bowe but shot of and all that I could

<sup>1</sup> This was clearly in Würtemberg. This second wife is the lady mentioned by Aubrey (*Surrey*, IV, 212, 213) under the curious title 'Anne Eleonora de Court Stephanus de Cary in W rtemberg,' and we may refer all the events alluded to to the time of Butler's command at Schorndorf in 1635. The Story of Lützen is with Poyntz's habitual disregard of chronology, put *after* this second marriage.

doe, was with my sword without a scabard, and a daring <sup>1</sup> Pistol but no powder nor shot : my last horse that was shot had almost f. 61 b. killed mee for beeing shot in the guts, as I thinke, hee mounted on a suddaine such a height, yea I thinke on my conscience two yards, and suddaine fell to the ground upon his bum, and with his suddaine fall thrust my bum a foot into the ground and fell upon mee and there lay groveling upon mee, that hee put mee out of my senses. I knew not how I was, but at length coming to myself, with much a doe got up, and found 2 or 3 brave horses stand fighting together. I tooke the best, but when I came to mount hym I was so bruised & with the weight of my heavy Armour that I could not get my leg into the saddle that my horse run away with mee in that posture half in my saddle and half out, and so run with mee till he met with Picolominie comming running with a Troop of horse und my horse run among them that I scaped very narrowly of beeing throwne cleane of but at length got into my saddle full of paine and could hardly sit, and followed the Troop having nothing but a daring Pistol and a naked Sword.

No more Prisoners taken that day, every one strove to save hymself. Here fortune left mee almost bare againe, and well she left mee at so bloody a battaile with life. But this losse I did prittily well recover that Winter beeing billeted in Austria among rich Boores, by hooke or by crooke, I got mee strong in horse and men as I thought any had ; but it fell out so that with continuall marching this spring from one side of Germany to the other, to help the miserly Duke of Saxon against the Sweve: and from thence backe againe to Loraine from whence wee went at first to Gallas who lay there entrenched with the Army, and the famine wee endured so long there, my Troop grew so short & poore & the Country growne so f. 62. poore that nothing was to bee got amongst the Boores upon whome alwaies lay the Comaunders hopes whilst they were in good plight, for wee might bee our own carvers, for we had no other pay : these failing, my thoughts were in despaire of ever raising my companie againe : And I had almost 2000 £ in my purse with mee at that tyme, yet I considered it would goe hard to part with my ready Money, and nothing to bee got, and I knew not how things stood at home, and to goe empty handed home would not doe so well, considering also I had left a costly Wife at home : and having bene almost a whole yeare in Warres, I set up my rest of going home, and mee thought a private life after these wandring wearisome marches did relish sweetly in my thoughts and so after a long march I came nere home, where I heare the true tryall of fortunes

<sup>1</sup> ? Swaggering : really ineffectual, but making a brave show.

mutability, which was that my Wife was killed & my child, my house burned and my goods all pillaged : My Tenants and Neighbours all served in the same sauce, the whole Village beeing burned ; nether horse, Cowe, sheep nor Corne left to feed a Mouse, This when I came home I found too true some poore people got into the ruines living with roots : this went nere mee. This was donne by a party of french that came out of Italy going homewards : here was little comfort for mee to stay here : then I presently determined to go see my deare friend Count Buttler Governour of that Country, who lived some two or 3 Leagues<sup>1</sup> from thence at the [ ] the head Citty of the Dukedome of Michelburg, but my hopes were turned upside downe, for it was my good hap to see hym, but he was dying, which strucke more nere to mee, or as much as my  
 f. 62 b. owne losse, but there was no remedy, but yet it somewhat revived hym and what show of love a dying man can expresse, hee did grasping my hand with all his strength and calling for his Will gave mee a thousand pound therein and not long after having receaved his Viaticum with a great sylver Crucifix in his hand and in my Armes yielded up the Ghost. I had thought my heart would have burst with grief, but could get out no teares out of my stony heart : but to my owne heart I cryed Spes et Fortuna Valet, my hopes and fortune now farewell, who if hee had lived, I had had fortune almost at my becke ; but hee beeing dead about the 1000 £ hee gave mee his Wife beeing his Executrix and not so friendly to mee as she might have bene, and her husbands love to me required, kept mee so of with delayes, and at last I was forced to goe to Ratisbone where the Emp<sup>r</sup> was expected about it, but never the nearer, and there also I was as nere but the charge in expecting was so great as the debt it self would not countervaille it and finding there an English Embassadour<sup>2</sup> made as much use of his favour as I could in my passe hither, away I went for England loosing my frend and his guift.

But it is by the way worthy your consideration and myne which I did observe more of fortunes mutability whilst I was at Ratisbone in others cases then myne owne had donne, and it made a great impression in mee : for when I wandred out of my owne Country, I knew not whither, and I followed I knew not whome, wee went, I well remember, thorough many brave Dukes and Princes Countries

<sup>1</sup> This fixes the position of Poyntz's estates in the neighbourhood of Schorndorf.

<sup>2</sup> Again a lacuna without meaning. Butler died at Schorndorf. Michelburg (= Mecklenburg throughout) must be Württemberg.

<sup>3</sup> John Taylor, cf. *State Papers : Domestic* : 1635-6, *passim*.

of Germany full of all things that belonged to mans.vse and of all things wee had supplies of men and mony as wee passed : for mee that had seene the one now to come to see the contrary was wonderfull, viz. their Countries destroyed, their Townes burned, f. 63. their people killed and most of themselves or by their Embassadors making their Peace with the Emp<sup>r</sup> while I was there and some that I had knowne formerly in the Warres : Captaines and Lieutenants, there I met with, who of themselves falling into passionate Exclamations against the late king of Sweveland and his officers cursing the tyme of his comming who had brought them to blood and beggery, the pretense of whose comming was to deliver them from the tyrannies of the Emp<sup>r</sup> threw them into an other farre worse ; having carried most of the Treasure out of Germany into their owne Country and left them in worse plight at the Emp<sup>rs</sup> mercy then at first by farre and that which troubled these Captaines and officers most was the pride of the King of Swevelands officers especially Oxenstall whome the King made Chancelour of Germany and his place of residence should bee [                   <sup>1</sup> ] where all the revenews which should come to the maintenance of the Kings warres in Germany, and there bee kept and distributed as necessity required. And the Towne to be called the Chancery or Exchequer of Germany, but little went out to the souldiers or Officers, though with Warrant from the King, for Oxenstall would still complaine of want of Money in the Exchequer unlesse they would take Land in such a Dukedome or such which had bene newly gotten and easily, all flying from the face of the Conquerour as from a Lyon, and withall his pride was so great that they might have a dispatch twice from the King before from hym once and bee they Dukes or whosoever or of what ranke soever they must attend many dayes and two or 3 roomes of before they were admitted. This drew an infinite hate of them.

But to myself I posted to England to see how fortune had dealt f. 36 b. with mee for my estate there, whither when I came, to adde more vexation and grief I found our house extirpated & sold out of the name, the land and renew in like sort dispersed and severed to many buyers, which if my wild & wandring head had had any braynes or consideration as one of 16 or 17 yeares of age might have had and so kept in England, it might have bene the cause it had not come to ruine as it hath donne or at least so soone.

And if I had not bene reasonably well underlayd, I meane with Money at my coming out of Germany which journey was very

<sup>1</sup> Augsburg according to Poyntz himself (p. 57 *supra*).



chargeable to mee, I might have begged, for any friendship of my owne kindred, and I must confesse I found great friendship from those that were mere strangers to mee which was Sir L. Tresham and his Lady, in whose house I have writ these my poore labours and for whose sake I reduced them to this head, and seeing my expectation had failed mee here and no employment in England in that faculty of souldiery, which I have followed from my youth, I doe give a Longum Vale to my Country, and a Longum Vive to my Sovereigne Lord & King, King Charles and will try my fortune againe where I first raised it, and where I left a great deale of dead-Land which, if it please God, a happy peace to bee betweene the Emp<sup>r</sup> & his subiects I may come to such an Estate there as may beseeme a greater man then myself. But yet so farre am I bound to fortune (if there bee any such a thing as fortune but divine providence) it hath delivered mee from servitude, kept mee since like a gentleman and in good respect with greater persons

f. 64. then my self and at last left mee in an other manner of Estate then when I first departed from my native Country. And so here is an End of the Peregrination of

SIDNAM POYNES.

# A RELATION

## OF THE DEATH OF WALLESTON FROM VIENNA

THE 8 FEB: 1634.

The Duke of fridland comonly called Walleston was slayne in f. 65. Aegra togeather with the Lord Kinsky and the Lord Terska : these three in goods had a great part of the Kingdome of Bohemia, some say the fourth part, others report that they had nigh the third part thereof : with them also was slayne one Coronell Illaw borne in Pomerania, but now dwelling in Bohemia ; and also one Cap<sup>a</sup> Newman a German who had bene Wallestons Secretary, but was now made a Cap<sup>a</sup> of Horsemen and a Coronell. All these fower were cut of by the meanes of fower other brave Captaines, Gordon and Lesley Scots, Butler and Giralbine Irishmen : Lesley hymself is now at Vienna here with some others who did help in the exploit, and this relation cometh from one who had it from Lesleys owne mouth.

The Lord Terska an inward frend of Wallestons, had the Commaund of 6 Regiments and consequently was as 6 Coronells : one of his Lieutenants was Cap<sup>a</sup> Gordon a Scottish man who with his Regiment lay at Aegra, hee hymself lodging in the Castle, where was likewise at Aegra Coronell Buttler the Irish man with his Regiment and Captain Lesley maister of the Watche with his comaund. Walleston knowing his wicked Treason to bee detected and fearing the comming of Picolhominie after hym accompanied with these two Lords Kinskie and Terska and the Coronells Illaw and Newman hasteneth with those forces they had there present towards f. 65 b. Aegra of whose comming thither those of Aegra beeing advertised Cap<sup>a</sup> Lesley with his souldiers went to meet hym and to waite on hym into the Towne whome Walleston did not onely most kindly and lovingly entertayne and heartily thanke for this show of Love and Duty but did also make hym to ride close by hym, and as they rid on did relate many thinges unto hym to winne hym to his side and to ioine with hym in the conspiracy and among other thinges hee told hym that there was great Hurly burly in Vienna, the Cittie beeing devided into two factions and that the King of Hungary with all the Spaniards and father Laymerman<sup>1</sup> were revolted from the Emperour and were now all

<sup>1</sup> The name is variously written : it was very probably the simple German name Länmermann. The version in the text is at least nearer this than the French corruption " Lamormain. "

at Newstadt and that the Emp<sup>r</sup> with his Adherents did remaine still at Vienna and that father Laymerman was not onely revolted but was become the Emperours most capital Ennemy ; all this beeing most false. Beeing come to Aegra the 24<sup>th</sup> of feb; Walleston called Cap<sup>n</sup> Gordon unto hym and told hym that hee should goe into Lusatia to governe those Townes which were lately taken in and that Cap<sup>n</sup> Lesley should bee Lieutenant of Aegra in his roome and gives a charge to Cap<sup>n</sup> Lesley that if any Letters should bee brought to hym in the night tyme directed to hymself (Walleston) that hee should open them to see what they contayne and if hee found in them matter of importance that hee should presently

- f. 66. bring them to hym otherwise hee should keep them till morning. In the meane tyme the Scots and Irish having consulted among themselves of this busines and beeing assured of Walleston his Treason and evill intention and more confirmed by that which Walleston said to Lesley in the way, but most of all by this accident, to wit the same night came Letters very luckily to Walleston from Francis Albert Saxon Luneburg.<sup>1</sup> Lesley receives them, hee opens them and reades what they contayne, to wit, that fridlandt should boldly goe on to put in practise his plot and intendements and that Weymar Saxon would assist hym with many thousands both of foot and horse and that hee hymself (the said Luneburg) accompanied with some few would come aforehand to Aegra to conferre with Walleston concerning the same. These were the contents of those Letters of the Duke of Luneburg. All which Lesley having communicated to his Partners, in the morning delivers the Letter to his Highnesse, who seeing them opened was much vexed thereat, saying to Lesley, thou oughtest not to have opened Letters directed to my owne person and superscribed with my owne Titles. Lesley excused hymself saying that hee had mistaken his Highnesse Comaund and that hee would doe so no more. These Scottish Irish Cap<sup>ns</sup>, I say, beeing now well assured of this foule Treason they enter a consult what is to bee donne for in delay they see great danger: Saxon Weymar is comming with his Army, and the Emp<sup>r</sup> is fowly betrayed: In brief they
- f. 66 b. conclude presently to cut of the lives of the chief heads of this conspiracy and thereupon they all kneeled downe upon their knees, set the points of their swords to one an others breasts and so swore fidelity to Caesar and that they would bee true to each other and by all possible meanes help every man to his uttermost to effect this their resolution to dispatch the lives of these chief Traytours,

<sup>1</sup> A mistake for Lauenburg.

and till it was performed to keep all possible secrecy and silence. All this, I say, they swore upon their knees with the points of their swords at each others breast. Then rising vp they consult of the manner, how they may best execute the exploit. At lengthe it was concluded that Coronell Gordon beeing Lieutenant there and dwelling in the Castle should invite them thither that night to supper, to wit Kinsky, Terska, Illaw and Newman, for Walleston hymself had taken up his lodging in a private house in the Citty. These fower though with difficulty, yet they promised to come and at supper tyme came indeed : towards the end of supper cheese and sweet-meates comming in Lesley stepped forth, hee went downe to the draw-bridge of the Castle, hee caused it to be drawne up, he locked the Castle-gate, tooke the key with hym and so returned againe to the company and then the Watchword beeing given " Vivat Domus Austriaca, Vivat Imperator Ferdinandus there suddenly rushed into the place where they supped 6 lusty f. 67. gallant souldiers<sup>1</sup> with their swords drawne and well appointed for the purpose, some of them beeing Captaines and some other beeing Officers, at which sight Illaw snatched his sword ; leaped up and cryed Treason, but hee was presently stricke downe and laid along dead, next followed Kinski, then Terska who by reason of a buffe Jerkin hee had on, was not so quickly dispatched : Newman got out of the roome thinking to have saved himself by flight, but a guard was set without to prevent flying, and so was slayne by one who pursued hym at the heeles. This exploit was effected between seaven and 8 of the clocke at night on the 25 of feb : and carryed so within the Castle that nothing could bee suspected in the Citty. These 4 chief heads beeing thus taken away, they enter againe into consult what is to be donne with Walleston, whether to give hym the same doome which the others have had or to apprehend hym and so to send hym Prisoner to Vienna. After 3 howers consultation, many difficulties having bene proposed in both events, it is resolved that the surest and safest way is presently to cut hym of ; and therefore Lieutenant Gordon should stay still in the Castle to keep those souldiers there in good order : Lesley M<sup>r</sup> of the watch went downe f. 67 b. into the Piazza to encourage and animate the souldiers there to stand true and faithfull to the Emperour, and caused them all to sweare fidelity, giving them some light and inkling of a foule conspiracy : they all swore to be true to Caesar, and that they

<sup>1</sup> This contradicts Poyntz (p. 98) and is certainly the correcter account. For Gallas paid twelve soldiers (six at each door) 500 Rixdollars apiece. Förster : *Wallenstein* p. 291.

would live and dy for hym. Coronell Butler with a competent Company and those 6 that slew the other fower, made to the house where fridlandt lodged, rushed into the same, and came to the chamber wherein hee lay, which chamber had two doores, the bed stood against one, at the other they entred having broke it open and beeing come in hee leaped out of his bed, & hastened towards the window. But one Captaine Deudreux made to hym and with a Partizan runne hym thorough saying "so shall dy all Rebells and Traiteurs to the Emperour," hee fell downe dead, beeing not heard to speake any one word. This was donne betwixt ten and eleven of clocke at night nether was there heard or seene any one signe of sorrow or grief among any of his guard, nor did any one seeme to bee any thinge moved thereat.

- The day following francis Albert Duke of Luneburg comming to Aegra as hee signified in his Letters to Walleston, was way-laid by the Imperialists and taken and according to order given was
- f. 68. sent from Aegra to Newstadt. This beeing thus so happily come to passe by Gods goodnese, the Emperour hymself the 13 of march set forth towards Bohemia, where hee intends to ordaine his sonne the King of Hungary Generalissimo, and to give order that the souldiers there may receave the pay of some Moneths which are behinde hand. Hee meaneth to goe in a military manner like a Souldier, and for that purpose there is made for hym a Buffe Dubblet such as souldiers weare, which certainly will bee a great encouragement unto the whole Army. While all these thinges have bene doing the Ennemyes having taken Tupania,<sup>1</sup> a Citty in Silesia which confines with Moravia, one effect of Walleston his Treason, for the Citty was betrayed and delivered up by the Lieutenant Governour thereof one of Walleston his Creatures and an adherent unto hym in the Conspiracy. Lesley one of them that cut of Walleston and his Confederates in Aegra is made a Colonell by the Emperour hymself and the king of Hongary hath made hym one of the Guard of his body. The Emperour hath bestowed on hym for the reward of his good service ten thousand Rix dollars and a
- f. 68 b. very rich chayne of Gold. Hee is a gallant young man about 25 years of age. Hee was brought up a Calvinist and hath so lived hitherto, but hath some weekes past resolved to become Catholique. Caesar hath given hym <sup>2</sup>already the golden key ; Thus much briefly the event and successe of Walleston his Treason.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly Troppau. Schafgotsch seems to be alluded to.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. made him one of his chamberlains. This is apparently true. *Carve, Itincr.* p. 110.

## THE LIFE AND MAXIMES OF WALLESTON.

The Duke of fridlandt commonly called Walleston was tall of stature, slender, leane, and almost perpetually melancholy ; from a private Gentleman hee had bene advanced to supream charges, such as formerly had not bene conferred upon any other, and of a subject became a soveraigne, beeing honoured with 4 very good Dukedomes, to wit, fridlandt, Glogaw, Sagan and Mechelburg, and lastly with the title of Excellency from whence hee arrived to the Title of Illustrious Highnesse which was given hym by all men, hee was much honoured by his owne and forrayne souldiers, by whome once knowne hee was almost adored : hee was rigorous and pardoned no fault, nor did hee suffer any man to passe unrewarded who bare himself bravely : hee punished severely and gave liberally. Above all hee expected extraordinary obedience and reverence. Hee had as splendide a Court as any Sovereigne Prince could have, and well treated those that served hym. But whoever sought to bee enrolled in his service was to take very good heed, for hee dismissed none unlesse it came of his owne accord, nor would hee that any other should speake for hym, for if hee did, hee was sure ether to bee cast into Prison, or to be farre worse used. Hee punctually payed his Servants and would have them well provided and orderly. There was not any in his Court whose nativity hee would not cause to be cast aforehand by Astrologers, whome hee had perpetually about hym. These Kinde of people were very precious with hym, for hee was not onely a very good maister in this Art but above all thinges infinitely delighted therein ; hee likewise made the nativities of all his Colonells and Commanders to be calculated, in this matter of Auguries and foretelling observing the Roman Rules. There was an Astrologer in his Court named Signor John Baptista Leni a Genoway much esteemed to whome hee gave 2000 Rix Dollars for annuall entertaynement and the freedome of the Table of the greatest Cavaliers of his Court notwithstanding that this Leni<sup>1</sup> had bene a pore Scrivener, residing in the house of Rappata a merchant of Vienna. Hee had foretold many thinges, which succeeding the Duke gave hym 6000 Rix Dollars in goods. Hee would not suffer any man to come into his Court, nor nere the place of his aboad ether on horsebacke or in coach. In his Anticamera hee had about 60 Gallants, Princes and men of prime qualitie and no more noise was to bee heard then in a devout Church : If any one spoke

1 Seni.

- aloud were hee a man of quality, hee was reprehended, but if of meaner ranke, hee caused hym to bee bastonaded by some enter-  
tayned to that purpose. Whither soever hee came, hee instantly comāunded all the Cats and dogs to bee killed, not enduring in any sort to heare a noise. No Coronell nor Officer of foot service might weare Boots or spurres and this under most heavy penalties which without remission were inflicted. Hee changed the sound of Drum and Trumpet having found out others to his liking. The Companies both Horse and foot must have all necessary provision. When hee was out of his house ether on horsebacke or on foot or in coach, hee was not pleased that any one should stand to salute hym, nor any body should looke upon hym or salute hym as hee passed. No man might have audience nor speake to hym of what
- f. 70. condition soever hee were but that hee must first bee seene in Court where having taken his Physiognomie (which hee in private endeavoured to see) if hee disliked hym not hee called hym to hym and used hym well, and if it came into his head, would conferre many honours and extraordinary favours on hym. When any one came into his Chamber hee must bee circumspect in doing reverence and speaking to hym, for if too ceremonious hee would turne hymself to the other side, and speake no more. When hee comāunded, no man must open his mouth, but execute without reply ; hee had in his Court men versed in all sciences, paying them well, not so much for instruction of his Pages as for applause and greatnesse to have men famous and excellent in all Professions. Hee tooke no pleasure in Musique, hunting or any other Pastime beeing ever seriously bent to dispatch businesses, to study plots and understand some Astrologie what might happen from day to day, wherein hee infinitely excelled. Hee was very liberall, and when hee gave great presents hee much reioyced, and indeed was a man who gave most to them who least looked for it but his guifts were golden snares, which indissolubly obliged and wherein they were tyed, must take heed not to offend hym, for in an instant they
- f. 70 b. forfeited their lives. No Letters of recomēdations must bee brought to hym although from Princes, and when any one unexperienced presented them to hym, hee read them not, nor could cast an ey upon what was sent. Hee would not have in his Army any Colonells but such as were made by hymself, most of which were men of meane condition raised onely by hymself to greatnesse to the end they should bee the better affected to hym, the more partiall and dependent. And the old especially such as were Souldiers of note hee entertayned because hee could doe no lesse, but they were so little respected, and so ill entreated ; that it was

necessary for them to leave their charges and seeke out other services. Hee kept the Army together for although hee gave them no money, hee at least held them in hope and suffred them not to want bread, for hee caused it to bee made by contribution of the Emperours hereditary Provinces, which they for feare consented willingly unto, daring not to doe otherwise. His principall ayme in this Warre was to draw at length, to entertaine the Army, to practise diversions, as if hee would remove some Confederates, stirre up the Polacke or some other Prince, or attempt some Treason conceived by the french. To conclude this relation, I say, the Duke of fridlandt was severe, liberall, and proud, an excellent Politician and a great machivillian.

FINIS.





## APPENDIX A

The Replication of William Poyntz gentt Complaynt to the Answer of Katherine Golder, wydowe Defend<sup>t</sup>.

The sayed Repl<sup>y</sup>ant by protestation not acknowledgeinge any the matt<sup>rs</sup> Clauses articles or thinges in the sayed Defend<sup>ts</sup> answer contained to bee true and Certane in suche sorte man' and forme as the same are therein mentioned &. declared ; And sauinge to himsealfe all aduantages of exception to bee taken to the incertaneties &. insufficiencye, equiuocations and mentall reseruations in and by the s<sup>d</sup> defend<sup>ts</sup> answer mentyoned and contayned for a full &. pfect Replication therevnto replieth and sayeth in suche sorte as by his Bill they are sett forthe ; vidzt : that the sayed John Poyntz in the Bill named this Repl<sup>te</sup> Father and father to Sydenham Poyntz in the Bill mençoned, did in or about the tyme in the bill alledged put his sonne Sidenham Poyntz as Apprentice w<sup>th</sup> the said William Golder for the tearme of yeares in the Compt<sup>ts</sup> bill mençoned and that hee did deliu' and pay or caused to bee deliu'ed and payd in or about the tyme in the bill mençoned the some of Fiftie pounds of lawfull money of England to the said William Golder to bee payd to the said Sidenham Poyntz or this Repl<sup>t</sup> in such sorte maner and forme (as by the said bill is alledged, and accordinge to the condiçon of the bond of the said Golder made by him for the paym<sup>t</sup> thereof) and that the said Sydenham Poyntz beeinge twoe and and Twentie yeares of age or there abouts dyd at Rotterdame in the Netherlands on or vpon the five and twentieth day of Iulye in the yeare of o<sup>r</sup> Lord God one thousand six hundred twentie and five (as by the Certificate of Thomas Davies Captayne to the said Sidenham Pointz bearinge date the thirteenth day of Auguste then next followinge ready to bee shewen to this hono<sup>ble</sup> courte it appeareth) and this Repl<sup>t</sup> denyeth all and everie the misdemenors p<sup>o</sup>tended by the said dft in her

ansuer to bee committed by the said Sidenham Pointz in pilfringe wastinge and p'loyninge from the said William Golder either his goods or money, or that hee did rune away and absente himselfe from his said service for feare of punishm<sup>t</sup> for the cause aforesaid. For this Comptt Replyeth and saith that the said Sidenham Poyntz in or about the twelueth yeare of his age and duringe his service aforesaid was all most sterved for wante of victualls and necessarie foode, and for p'vencon thereof and to releive himself from famyn and stervinge hee the said Sydenham did in or about the tyme aforesaid receive and take vpon the score and credit of the said William Golder of and from a Chandler then and there neare inhabitinge to the said Golder onely one halfpenny loofe of brede and one halfpenny Cheese : For the doeinge whereof hee the said Golder and his eldest Apprentice or Jurneman, and one mayde servante by the commaundem<sup>t</sup> of the said Golder did soe hould and detayne the s<sup>d</sup> Sidenham soe that hee the s<sup>d</sup> Golder whipped him the s<sup>d</sup> Sydenham w<sup>th</sup> cruill rodde and whippes all his bodie over from his heade to his heles in such sorte as that hee the said Sydenham was like to die thereof, and did hardly recover the same. And this Rept saith that that was the onely cause of the sudden deupture of the s<sup>d</sup> Sidenham to p'vent famyne of the s<sup>d</sup> Sydenham, and least hee should bee soe vnhumanely whipped as aforesaid : For this Rept saith that att divers and severall tymes duringe his said apprentishipp that hee the s<sup>d</sup> Sidenham did often come and repayre to one M<sup>rs</sup> Dorethie Lawe a greate Aunt of the s<sup>d</sup> Sydenham Poyntz dwelling in or neare the Cittie of London, upon the intente and p'pose onely to crave and begge for victualles for his necessarie foode and sustenance, hee the s<sup>d</sup> Sidenham sayinge that he was all most starued and famyshed in his s<sup>d</sup> masters seruice. And this Rept replieth and further saith that the said Sydenham Poyntz apprentice to the s<sup>d</sup> Golder was an absolute ptestante in the vnity w<sup>th</sup> the Church of England accordinge to the lawes and sta[t]ute of the late kinge of ever blessed memorie, and accordinge to the holy lawes of the holy Church in England, and that the s<sup>d</sup> William Golder was then before a convicted Recusante and after a confirmed papist and Roman Catholicke masked and Clothed vnder the habitt of a Church ptestante as this Rept hath credablie hard and hopeth to proue to this ho<sup>ble</sup> Co<sup>r</sup>te, and for that hee the said Sidenham Pointz would not bee conformable and psuaded by the s<sup>d</sup> Golder in this religion to bee a papist or a Roman Catholicke hee the s<sup>d</sup> Golder did turne over as apprentice the s<sup>d</sup> Sydenham Poyntz to one Briscoe in the dfts answer named. And further this Rept saith that the s<sup>d</sup> Golder and his wife the

now dft beeing papists as aforesaid hee the ſd Golder did duringe his life fraudulently convey and assure his capitall messuage or dwellinge house in Flet streete London and other houses in London in trust and confidence for the vse and behoofe of the ſd William Golder duringe his naturall life, and after his death to the vse and behoofe of the dft his wife for her life or for soe many yeares as shee should live duringe the estate for yeares w<sup>ch</sup> the ſd Golder had in the ſd tearme in the houses aforesd, vpon p<sup>o</sup>pose as well to defraude and deceaue his late Ma<sup>tie</sup> as our sou' aigne Lord the kinge that nowe is of and from the penalties debts and duties due to the said late kinge James and to o<sup>r</sup> dreade sou' aigne Lord kinge that now is for the recusancie of the ſd William Golder and the dft his wife, and to defraude yo<sup>r</sup> ſd Orato<sup>r</sup> of his debt and damages due to him as aforesd vpon the bond of one hundred pounce made and deliu<sup>'</sup> ed as aforesd by the said William Golder for the paym<sup>t</sup> of Fiftie pounds to yo<sup>r</sup> Orato<sup>r</sup> and that by colour of the ſd conveyance shee the said dft doth receave and take the rents of the ſd houses in London, and converteth the same rents to her owne prop vse and behoofe. And this Reptt further saith that hee the said deceased William Golder the dfts late husband confessed and ſd to this Comptts mother Ann Poyntz in the p<sup>o</sup>sence and hearinge of the dft vpon some speeches betweene them concerninge the said debt and bond of one hundred pounds in the bill mençoned these or the like words followinge (vidzt) that hee had receaved the some of Fiftie pounds of her husband yo<sup>r</sup> Orato<sup>r</sup> father w<sup>th</sup> Sydenham Poyntz his apprentice, and likewise then and there further said to this Comptts mother in the said defend<sup>ts</sup> hearinge that he would not onely pay him the ſd Sydenham Poyntz or to such pson to whome it should appertayne the said some of Fiftie pounds when hee should bee out of his apprentishipp accordinge to the condiçon of his bond aforesd, but allsoe hee the said Golder said that it may bee hee would make him the said Sidenham Poyntz his heire if hee did over live him the said Golder. And this Reptt further replieth and saith that shee the said dft in or aboute the tyme that this Comptt did ex<sup>h</sup>ite his bill of Comptt against the said dft said and confessed in the hearinge of this Reptts brother Nudigate Poyntz and other credable wittnesses vpon some discourse and speech betweene them concerninge the said some of Fiftie pounds in the condiçon of the aforesaid bond made by the said William Golder in this Reptts bill mençoned, that shee the said dft therevnto Replied and said that it was in her power to pay the said some of Fiftie pounds in the condiçon of the said bond mençoned to this Reptts sister, or to w<sup>ch</sup> other of

the fower Children of the said John Poyntz this Rep<sup>t</sup>s Father shee pleased. And shee the said d<sup>ft</sup> then and there likewise said and affirmed that it was soe limited and appoynted in and by the condi<sup>ti</sup>on of the bond aforesaid, and shee the said d<sup>ft</sup> for better confirma<sup>ti</sup>on of her said opinion therein, then and there offered to laye one pynte of wyne w<sup>th</sup> the said Nudigate Poyntz and this Rep<sup>t</sup>, or w<sup>th</sup> one of them for the prooffe of her said opinion and Resolu<sup>ti</sup>on as aforesaid ; and the said d<sup>ft</sup> was the more absolute and conformed in her said opinion for that as shee said shee had the coppie of the condi<sup>ti</sup>on of her said late husbands bond in her hands and pos<sup>se</sup>ssion three daies before or there abouts and that it did appeare thereby as shee then affirmed that shee might pay the said some of Fiftie pounds to w<sup>ch</sup> of the said fower Children of the said John Poyntz shee pleased ; and the said defend<sup>t</sup> then and there appointed this Rep<sup>t</sup> and his brother Nudigate to come to the defend<sup>t</sup>s house on or vpon mundaye then next followinge, shee the said defend<sup>t</sup> then sayinge that shee would then pay and doe for the said Comp<sup>t</sup> what shee was able to doe for the discharge and satisfaction of the said debt and bond aforesaid, and the said d<sup>ft</sup> did then and there further desire of this Rep<sup>t</sup> and of the said Nudigate Pointz that they would bee favorable to her in regarde as shee then pretended that her said late deceased husband had lefte her but poore, and that nevertheles shee would pay to this Rep<sup>t</sup> as much as shee was able and doe any thinge which was fittinge concerninge the said debt or words to such or the like effecte. Without that that the said Sidenham Poyntz did committ diverse misdemeanors in pilfringe wastinge and parloyninge from the said William Golder either his goods or money, or that hee did filch or purloyne any of the goods or money of the said Briscoe or Weyer in the answer named (as by the said defend<sup>t</sup>s answer it is slanderously and malisyuslie suggested and imagined) For this Rep<sup>t</sup> directly saith that his said Father did deliu<sup>r</sup> as his acte and deede one obliga<sup>ti</sup>on of the penal some of twoe hundred pounds of lawfull money of England to the said William Golder his executors administrators and assignes to saue and keepe harmles him and them from all misemploy<sup>mt</sup> or purloyninge of any of his or theyr goods ; and therefore this Rep<sup>t</sup> conceaueth that if there had beene any such iuste cause of damage by the said Sidenham to the said Golder, Briscoe and Weyer, or any of them, that he or they would haue taken the benefitt of the forfeiture of the said bond, and would have commenced sute therevpon : And this Rep<sup>t</sup> saith that the said Briscoe and Weyer in the defend<sup>t</sup>s answer named were poore, meane, and men of greate

wante and necessities, and did all most starve the said Sidenham for want of necessarie foode, the w<sup>ch</sup> was the onelie cause that the said Sidenham Poyntz (hee beeinge a gentl of an ancient stocke and famylie and tenderly brought vpp) did goe beyonde the seas and bee to ake [*sic*] himselfe to bee a souldier with the consent of the said Weyer the Frenchman his last master without that that the said Sidenham Poyntz did demeane himselfe falsly or vniustlie with the said William Golder, or that the said Golder or the dft his wife sustayned greate damage or losse thereby or that the said William was at greate charges of five pounds and six pounds by placing the said Sidenham with twoe other masters in the dfts answere named. And this Rep<sup>t</sup> saith that hee hath not lived about the Cittie of London a longe tyme whilst the said William Golder was alive, and when the said some of Fiftie pounds grue due by the condiçon of the said bond and sithence For that this Rep<sup>t</sup> when the said some of Fiftie pounds grue due was then in the West Indies Commander of a Shipp of the right ho<sup>ble</sup> Lord Robert Earl of Warwicke, and a little before in his Ma<sup>te</sup> service in the Ile of Ree in France, and before that in his Ma<sup>te</sup> service at Cales in the Kingdome of Spayne, and before that in the service of the Lorde the States in the Netherlands on the behalfe of o<sup>r</sup> late deceased sou<sup>r</sup> aigne Lord Kinge James of famous memorie with the right ho<sup>ble</sup> Lord Robert, Earle of Essex, and longe before that in the Pallatinate at the battle of Prage in the Kingdome of Bohemya in the service of the Queene of Bohemya and therefore this Rep<sup>t</sup> saith that hee had neither tyme occasion or opportunitie to make any legall demande of the said some of Fiftie pounds of the said William Golder. And this Rep<sup>t</sup> saith that the bond of One hundred pounds aforesaid made as aforesaid by the said William Golder is come to the hands or possession of the said William Golder, and of the dft his wife, or one of them, soe that yo<sup>r</sup> said Orator cannot take any course at the co<sup>m</sup>on lawe for the recoverie of the said debt of Fiftie pounds in the condiçon of the said bond mençoned. And therefore this Rep<sup>t</sup> saith that the said some of Fiftie pounds and the vse thereof is most properlie determinable in this ho<sup>ble</sup> Court in equitie and that his proper remedie for the recoverie thereof is onelie in equitie against the said dft whoe in all conscience is chargeable to pay to this Rep<sup>t</sup> the said some of Fiftie pounds and the vse thereof by reason of the fraudulent conveyance of the houses of the said Golder in the Bill and answere mençoned to the vse of the said dft and that shee the said dft doeth receave and take to her owne vse and behoofe the yearlie Rents and profitte thereof and therefore this Rep<sup>t</sup> avereth

and hopeth to proue to this ho<sup>ble</sup> Court that shee the said dft hath Assets sufficient both in lawe and equitie to pay this Reptt the said Fiftie pounds for the reasones and causes aforesaid. And this Reptt traverseth without that that any other matter or thinge in the said defend<sup>ts</sup> answere contayned or effectuell or matteriall for this Reptt to Replie vnto, and which herein and hereby is not well and sufficientlie answered vnto confessed or avoyded, traversed or denyed, is true, all which matters this Reptt is readie to aver and proue as this ho<sup>ble</sup> Court shall awarde, and humble prayeth as by his said Bill hee hath allreadie prayed &c.

Ra : Rookeby.

## APPENDIX B

Extract from " The Vindication of Colonel General Poyntz against the false and malicious Slanders secretly cast forth against him : As in a letter to a Friend of his and a Servant to the State doth appear. " London : printed for Edward Husband, Printer to the Honourable House of Commons February 3, 1645.

*(not paged : last page but one)*

There is yet one great mystery more concerning me revealed, which is that I am a Papist. Of all the rest I am least troubled at this Rumor, it being in the power of so many thousands to Vindicate me, who have been witnesses of my constant Profession which from my first years, according to the Instructions of this my native Countrey have been in the Reformed Protestant Religion, and accordingly have for many years been an Elder of the Dutch church as is very well known. Neither indeed could I devise the reason of this suspition, till of late I find it to be, because I served the Emperour against the Duke of Saxony, and for my Service was Knighted in the Field ; wherein I must say, That Duke carried Himself so distastful in that Quarrel to divers Protestant Princes : that were I again a meer Souldier of Fortune and to chuse sides, I should fight against so much falshood as the Duke shew'd in the prosecution of that Quarrel ; and of what Religion the Duke of Saxony was or whether of any is to me yet unrevealed, however the world might stile him ; for indeed his fighting was point of Interest, not Religion. In all Wars there are and will be Factions, and even in this, mine ears have heard several Contests managed with more height and fervor than became the merits of the Argument : For mine own part, I came with an intent to fight not to dispute for the State, and so the Profession of Religion be rectified, and the Means of Salvation clear and open for the forms of externall Discipline I am prepared to observe the Directions and Commands of the Parliament, without interesting myself unnecessarily in such Contestations..... etc.

J



## APPENDIX C

### *Note on Introduction, p. 1.*

The "German soldier's diary" alluded to deserves fuller consideration, if only by way of comparison with Poyntz's Relation. It is contained in the fourth volume (pp. 105-191) of a curious miscellany published by the Bavarian antiquary Westenrieder under the title of *Beyträge zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, (München 1792 &c.) in which transcripts of mediaeval registers appear side by side with dissertations on the editor's toothache and the like. It represents the autobiography of Augustin Fritzsche, a soldier of the League who served through nearly the whole war, and rose from the ranks to independent command. In length the work is about the same as Poyntz's narrative, but there the resemblance ceases. Fritzsche is no doubt as accurate as the Englishman is careless, but the value of his work is diminished by several circumstances. He covers too much ground, and his entries are often little more than mere notices of change of quarters. Again, he was almost throughout the war quartered in Westphalia, where the attitude of the opposing parties was mainly that of observation,<sup>1</sup> or at the utmost, as we learn from the famous contemporary story of "Simplicissimus," of guerilla warfare, and when he is actually engaged in the most stirring events of the war he becomes disappointingly jejune and brief. That he had considerable powers of graphic narration is evident from his lively description of sundry small skirmishes of no great interest: but when he comes to important engagements he has little to say. He was not at Breitenfeld at all. His remarks on the end of the battle of Lützen (pp. 134-135) have been considered worth notice by historians; but though he was at the capture of Regensburg by the Imperialists

<sup>1</sup> In *Simplicissimus*, book ii, chap. 24, the ladies of a Westphalian convent are granted protection in the shape of two troopers, one from each army, who pass their time in friendly fencing-bouts; and the Hessian governor of Lippstadt secures the most prominent "partisan" on the other side not by force of arms, but by marrying him off, through a trick, to a Protestant lady.

he has only a word to say of it ; and of Nördlingen (p. 149) where he fought, and as to which Poyntz gives us his most vivid piece of description, he has but a general summary. His whole narrative indeed is striking testimony to the sporadic character of the great war. A man of intelligence (and Fritzsche is certainly that, though, to judge by his spelling, of no great education) might serve all through it and yet know nothing of its general features or its turning-points.



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\* The name is certainly French, and Khevenhüller (XII, 1185) recounting the episode, says the officer in question was 'der De la Fossische Obrist-Lieutenant': but he does not give his name.

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